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Bonds and Mortgages (418 first liens).....	23,595,105	
Deposits in 499 Banks throughout the world (at interest, \$15,341,708).....	17,694,110	
Loans to Policy-holders on their Policies as security (reserve value, \$30,000,000).....	35,887,475	
Real Estate (26 pieces, including 11 office buildings, valued at \$10,940,000).....	13,257,500	
Loans on Bonds (market value, \$788,565).....	550,000	
Quarterly and Semi-Annual Premiums not yet due, and premiums in transit, reserve charged in Liabilities.....	6,832,497	
Premium Notes on Policies in force (Legal Reserve to secure same, \$5,500,000).....	3,331,618	
Interest and Rents accrued.....	2,468,571	
Total Assets (per Certificate of New York Ins. Dept.)	<u>\$390,660,260</u>	
		47,528,140
		<u>Total Liabilities (per certificate of N. Y. Ins. Dept.)</u> <u>\$390,660,260</u>

LIABILITIES.

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Reserve to provide dividends payable to policy-holders during 1905 and in subsequent years, per policy contracts—	
To holders of 30-Year Period Policies and longer.....	24,982,787
To holders of 15-Year Period Policies.....	5,736,259
To holders of 10-Year Period Policies.....	344,601
To holders of 5-Year Period Policies.....	303,887
To holders of Annual Dividend Policies.....	866,953
Reserve to provide for all other contingencies.....	8,461,680
Total additional reserves.....	
	47,528,140
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INCOME, 1904.

New Premiums.....	\$16,133,823
Renewal Premiums.....	64,422,754
Interest, Rents, etc.....	16,324,095
Total Income.....	<u>\$96,891,272</u>

DISBURSEMENTS, 1904.

Death Claims paid.....	\$19,734,245
Endowments paid.....	5,051,629
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Total Disbursements.....	<u>\$59,881,729</u>

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Paid-for Insurances in Force, December 31, 1903.....	812,711	\$1,745,212,899
New Paid-for Insurances, 1904.....	185,367	331,295,806
Old Insurances Revived, etc.	1,797	14,426,917
Totals.....	999,875	\$2,090,935,422
Total Terminated in 1904....	75,163	162,326,955
Paid-for Insurances in Force, December 31, 1904.....	924,712	\$1,928,609,308
Gain in 1904.....	112,001	\$183,396,409

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I, FRANCIS HENDRICKS, Superintendent of Insurance of the State of New York, do hereby certify that the NEW-YORK LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY, of the City of New York, in the State of New York, a Mutual Life Insurance Company, having no capital stock, is duly authorized to transact the business of Life Insurance in this State.

I FURTHER CERTIFY that, in accordance with the provisions of Section eighty-four of the insurance law of the State of New York, I have caused the Policy obligations of the said Company, outstanding and paid for on the 31st day of December, 1904, to be valued on the following basis: Policies known as the Company's three per cent. Policies, and all Policies issued since December 31, 1900, being valued as per the American Experience Table of Mortality with three per cent. interest, and all other Policies being valued as per the Combined Experience Table of Mortality with four per cent. interest; and I hereby certify the result to be as follows:

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Total.....	
Less Net Reserve Value of Policies reinsurance.....	
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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JANUARY 5, 1905.

The Week.

The siege of Port Arthur, which ended on Sunday, will go down in history as one of the most memorable in all the annals of warfare. There have been longer sieges—the Allies lay three hundred and fifty days before Sevastopol and sacrificed 100,000 lives in order to reduce it; but none more stubbornly contested. The investment of Plevna, which lasted one hundred and forty-four days, ended more dramatically with Osman Pasha's fruitless sortie. Port Arthur, the most elaborately fortified city in the world, was forced to capitulate because, isolated by land and by sea, all its great resources in the way of men, ammunition, and supplies were at an end. The event enforces the old truth that what man has built up, man can tear down; and makes it plain that, in the historical contest between the assailants and defenders of fortified positions, the chances still favor a well-directed and sufficiently vigorous attack. Port Arthur was the first beleaguered fort to be defended by the aid of the latest modern inventions. It had its electricity, its searchlights, its telephones, even its wireless telegraphy. Barbed-wire defences, mines, high-power explosives, the latest range-finders, the newest machine guns, all failed to stop the most determined assaults of modern times. The very recklessness of life displayed by the Japanese—in violation of that principle of warfare which proclaims him a great general who achieves his end with a minimum human sacrifice—made a successful outcome of the defence impossible so long as Nogi had troops to hurl against the entrenchments. For the Oriental character, as contrasted with the Western, this is a great triumph. The troops of a first-class European Power would also have accomplished the fall of Port Arthur, but it may well be questioned whether it would not have taken much longer and become purely a matter of starving out Gen. Stoessel.

So far as that general and his men are concerned, their defence is the most creditable event in the long chronicle of Russia's defeats and disasters. It was known long before the Japanese surrounded Port Arthur that Russian soldiers were the ideal defenders of fortified positions, and Gen. Stoessel has strongly emphasized this truth. Not until the whole history of the siege is before us can the final word be said about his leadership, and whether he showed all the initiative his position demanded.

But his fame is secure even though he has added nothing new to the military theory of sieges, and was forced in the end to succumb to the historic methods of mining and countermining and of concentrating a tremendous artillery fire on one link at a time in the chain of forts with which Port Arthur was provided. If Gen. Stoessel's naval allies had shown one-tenth the courage and determination which seem to have inspired him and his subordinates, the whole story of Port Arthur might have been different.

Concerning the general strategy of the Russians, there is already a sharp difference of opinion among experts. Capt. Mahan was of the belief last summer that the defence of Port Arthur was the salvation of the Russians; that every week's detention of Nogi's army there made for Kuropatkin's eventual success in the North. An English military writer declares, on the other hand, that the history of the campaign is one "of criminal ignorance of the first principles of strategy by sea and land"; that the retention of Port Arthur was a worse entanglement for the Russians than Ladysmith for the British in South Africa; that in consequence the entire campaign "resolved itself into a costly, useless, and stupid effort to relieve a fortress deliberately isolated," with the result that the Russian army broke and spent itself in one frantic effort after another to attain the unattainable. All this is very easily said on the Strand; but Russia could no more have abandoned its enormously costly fort without firing a shot than the British could have abandoned Sir George White at Ladysmith, on the ground that strategical considerations made it advisable. Moreover, it cannot be gainsaid that Stoessel's heroic defence has cost the Japanese very dear, not merely in men, but in money and military matériel. In all three her resources are limited; if Russia wins in the end, it will be for this reason, and further praise will then be showered upon Stoessel for his share in bringing the Japanese to a state of exhaustion.

Upon the disposal of Port Arthur hangs ultimately the destiny of Northern China. After the Russians had signed the lease of the Kwantung peninsula, there followed the German descent upon Shantung and the temporary occupation of Wei-hai-wei by the English. Would the restoration of Port Arthur to China be the signal for the Germans also to withdraw? That, perhaps, is too much to hope. Indeed, the future of the Liao-tung province is too obscure

to afford a safe basis for speculation, but this much is certain: that Japanese ascendancy in southern Manchuria, whether direct or through a protectorate, would mean a sharp check to European aggression in North China. One hears already that the Chinese army is to be thoroughly reorganized in that region; and the news of the expulsion of the Russians from the Manchurian littoral cannot but have a great effect in quickening all Eastern Asia to national self-consciousness. It will behoove the Western nations to profit by Russia's example and accept the facts that the Far East is coming to its own, and that the habit of regarding China as so much unclaimed area to be marked for exploitation has become a perilous anachronism.

Among the newspapers there is a pathetic unanimity of assent to the Government suit against the General Paper Company. Even the journals that see in all actions against the Trusts the impending dissolution of the Federal system, hold their peace. It makes a difference whose raw product is monopolized. Indeed, the secretary of the company showed a sense of the situation when he said he feared the suit would have uncommon publicity. His remarks on the formation of this selling company were, as reported, of almost infantilism; so far was the General Paper Company from breaking any law. State or national, that it had followed the unusual procedure of employing the most learned counsel, so that the company might not clash, even accidentally, with a statute. The appeal from a United States court to one's own counsel is certainly unusual, but in view of the prevailing temper of a portion of the press it may yet have to be admitted. It is too much to hope, however, that so needful a change in procedure will take place in President Roosevelt's time. In all seriousness, there is every reason to believe that the General Paper Company is only the front that a burdensome monopoly presents to the public. And so long as Congress withholds some such general corporation regulation as Mr. Garfield urges, there is nothing to do but to use the at best cumbersome machinery of the various anti-monopoly acts.

Testimony before the Interstate Commerce Commission at Chicago on Thursday furnished added proof of the President's wisdom in making Secretary Morton spokesman of the Administration in the matter of nefarious railway practices. It appears from the evidence that, while Mr. Morton was traffic manager of the Santa Fé Railroad, secret rebates were given by it to the Colorado Fuel

and Iron Company. Their result was, and was intended to be, to kill off a competitor and create a coal monopoly. If the facts are as alleged, the railway officials entered into an unlawful agreement, amounting to a conspiracy, with the Fuel Company. Secret circulars of instructions to agents were laid before the Commission, showing that the Fuel Company was inducing or compelling the railroads to give it such rebates that it could sell coal at a price equal to the bare freight rates exacted of other shippers. If Mr. Morton knew of this arrangement, and assented to it, he was a violator of the law; if not, his being in charge of the Santa Fé traffic was only a joke. In either case, his present earnest championing of national control of railroad rates seems strangely like the attitude of a man begging the Government to restrain his criminal propensities.

Another United States Senator under indictment for fraud and bribery, with a Representative joined to him in the same distinction, reminds us in what a strange borderland of morality too many of our public men dwell. They become habituated to acts so near the margin of the law that they scarcely know themselves when they step clean over. Representative Hermann plaintively says that "we all" do the sort of thing for which a jury has indicted him. In other words, when called upon to serve a constituent, a Congressman is expected to stop at nothing. As to Senator Mitchell, the chief surprise at Washington is, unhappily, not that he did the things alleged, but that he was so little astute as to be caught at them. Of course, fair-minded men will suspend final judgment in these particular cases until the legal proofs are forthcoming; but enough is known to show that the land frauds, like the postal thievery, disclose the seamy side of prosperity. When it means, as it is too often made to mean, a mad rush to be rich, public servants cannot escape the demoralization. In Grant's second Administration, George F. Hoar, then a member of the House, made a startling exposure of the lengths to which official corruption had gone. Mr. Roosevelt can save his second Administration from a similar reproach only by insisting that the prosecuting officers hew to the line.

Our State Department regards the situation in Morocco as serious, and so evidently does the French Government, but how lucky Mr. Hay must now think it that he did not get "Raisuli dead" last June. "Perdicaris living" to-day comes forward to affirm that the terrible Raisuli is the only man who can maintain order in Morocco, since he is "superior in many respects to any of the officials among his countrymen." Should he by any chance come to the direction of af-

fairs in Morocco, we hope that he will be magnanimous, and not treasure up against the United States the dispatch demanding his head. If he is as astute as Perdicaris asserts him to be, he will know that the dispatch was intended solely for the Republican Convention. With the election, that particular bit of blather expired. A living dog is better than a dead campaign lion; and Raisuli may congratulate himself that the Administration was merely slaying him with its mouth.

Secretary Taft seems to be proceeding in the matter of tariff reductions on Philippine products much as Gen. Grant, when a boy, went about selling his father's horse. "The price is \$150, but I will take \$100." "I am hoping," says Secretary Taft, "to get the tariff on sugar and tobacco down to 25 per cent., but I suppose I'll take what I can get." No further notice to the other side is required. Mr. Taft wants Congress to do an act of justice to the Filipinos, but if it won't—why, he will put up with injustice. He has tried this method of speaking the devil fair with such poor success in the past that we should think he would now be ready to make experiment of a stand-up fight. In the matter of secret conciliatory negotiations, the protected interests, which do not care if the Filipinos starve, can beat him every time.

Governor Carter of Hawaii, in his annual report, makes a plea for relaxation of the Chinese immigration laws. So far we are with him, holding that these laws are barbarous in principle and oppressive in their actual application. But before any friend of the Chinaman goes the whole way with the picturesque Governor of our distant possession, let him consider what kind of Chinese immigration is wanted in Hawaii. As to that, Governor Carter expresses himself with exemplary frankness, and says he desires only "a limited number under restriction, requiring their return at the end of a given number of years and confining them entirely to these islands." These business-like words cover an old abuse—bonded coolie labor with its attendant circumstances of shiploads of temporary serfs, guarded compounds, forced labor, and fugitive-slave laws. In other words, Governor Carter wants for Hawaii what Lord Milner, in the Chinese Labor act, demanded for the Transvaal. If the earth is to be exploited at a speed pleasing to the great commercial nations, some such system is necessary. But it, even confirmed Imperialists will admit, is the shady side of the Imperial idea. Yet whenever the matter comes seriously before Congress we shall doubtless have an opportunist clergy fairly outdoing their British brethren in dem-

onstrating that the coolie compound is a providential means for spreading, with the blessings of civilization, those of Christianity.

Though the impression seems to be growing that Addicks will again fail to get his coveted Senatorship, this can hardly be attributed to an absence of political virtue among Delaware voters. They have sent to Dover 23 members of the Addicks faction, as against 10 of the Regular Republicans and 20 Democrats. The Legislature of two years ago, which broke the deadlock by a compromise that gave the longer term to an Addicks man, contained 22 Addicks and 8 Anti-Addicks Republicans to 21 Democrats. Col. DuPont's fitness for the Senatorship is appealing more strongly to the legislators now that Addicks has begun to economize on his political expenditures and the candidate of the Regulars has stepped into the breach. Meanwhile, the national Administration is helping the anti-Addicks faction, and the last three Federal appointments have come from that side. A credible correspondent reports Senator Ball's confident prediction that his seat in the Senate will be filled by "somebody other than Addicks." The Republican National Committee's benediction this year does not seem to have brought good luck. The Spooner faction, which it "recognized" in Wisconsin, was badly beaten; and, for all the stamp of "regularity" which it gave to Addicks, he may be farther than ever from the object of his ambition.

The New York Municipal Civil Service Commission has laudably done away with the "re-rating" scandal in competitive examinations. The would-be civil servant is naturally as likely as the college student to take issue with the examiner who gives his paper a low mark, yet the practice of allowing appeals for revision, unless in cases of palpable error in marking, is subject to the worst abuses. The candidate's identity is unknown to the examiner, being designated only by a number, but when he appeals for a re-rating his name must, of course, appear, and whatever "pull" he possesses can become effective. Again, in a competitive examination, the marks are in any case only relative, graded according to a standard in the examiner's mind, and a re-rating of one paper without examination of the others means a departure from the whole principle of the comparative test. The number of unsuccessful candidates who have appealed to the municipal board has been enormously large in the past. In the first half of this year there were 1,615 appeals, 1,449 of them for changes in the examination papers themselves. The United States Civil Service Commission in a year heard but 419 appeals and the New York State Commission only 25.

Massachusetts has very few appeals, while Buffalo and Chicago have abolished the right entirely except for manifest error. The great number of appeals in this city, fortunately, does not imply that a corresponding proportion of re-rating is actually made. Out of the 1,449 appeals, only 206 were granted, while of the 150 appeals heard by the new Commission in October but 4 were granted. But the system gave opportunities for favoritism, to say nothing of unintentional injustice, and the Commission has but learned of experience in abolishing it.

The reported plan of burning a million or two bales of cotton in the South, so as to keep up the price, is doubtless not to be taken too seriously. As with the old panacea of "reducing acreage," each planter will count upon some silly neighbor, or an idiot in the next county, to apply the remedy, while he himself pockets the gains. There is, however, striking evidence in this alleged scheme of the way in which protection has turned our economic notions topsy-turvy. We admit, of course, that the unexpectedly large crop has its awkward side for the cotton trade, and especially, just at present, for the cotton manufacturers. Yet it is fairly astounding to find scarcity thus held up as the great blessing. For that is what this worship of high prices really comes to. Apparently intelligent men act as if the great aim and result of civilization were *not* to enable the world to be fed and clothed as cheaply and comfortably as possible. When drought or flood or fire cuts off the food supply, or when war makes the necessities of life vanish, we account it a terrible calamity; but if we can approximate the same state of affairs by vexatious laws or artificial interference with the bounty of nature, we pose as benefactors. This only goes to show how protection may befuddle a whole people. Bastiat would find new material for his 'Economic Sophisms' in the seeming devotion of Americans to the idea that plenty is a curse.

The President has with other potentates given his name to a committee for the excavation of Herculaneum—a watering-place in which the "cottagers" lived neither the strenuous nor the simple life. Yet the life of those wealthy Romans had something to be said for it. The owners of those great villas by the sea lived in an elegance such as the world has rarely seen since. The casual tourist about Naples probably fails to realize that the most beautiful objects came from Herculaneum, and that the prevalent quality of Pompeii is cheap and vulgar. Perhaps too much pains have been spent upon the uncovering of that godless Asbury Park; it is easy digging, and there is a tempting amount

of rather third-class antiquity to be revealed. The select colony of Herculaneum, on the contrary, was covered by lava mud, not cinders, and it will presumably cost as much to excavate single villas as it does to bring up entire quarters in Pompeii. But the reward should be great. The splendid bronzes and the manuscripts in the Naples Museum are from Herculaneum. In fact, we can imagine no drawback to the scheme which Dr. Charles Waldstein is promoting so efficiently, except the expense.

Mr. Choate's retirement from the English Embassy follows a service officially satisfactory, and attended by popularity. The American Ambassador to England long since ceased to be merely a diplomat. Most of the official business is now done direct between Washington and London, and the routine duties can be discharged by any red-tape mind. But it is as the representative and mouth-piece of the American people that our Ambassador has come to hold his unique position. To interpret us to England; to enter easily into the intellectual life of English literary and artistic and university circles; to be a dignified figure on public occasions, and to speak the right word when some anniversary or historic celebration brings out the spiritual kinship of the two nations—such have been his high functions. In discharging these, Mr. Choate has necessarily suffered, as any man would, from standing in the shadow of his predecessors. His wit was not at first appreciated, and his literature has occasionally had the air of being improvised. Still, Mr. Choate's flexible talent enabled him soon to adjust himself to his position, and his retirement is to be regretted.

Earl Roberts, like Kipling and other military lights, would transform all England into a voluntary training camp as a substitute for enforced army service. Because conscription in time of peace is impossible, the Field Marshal would have every able-bodied Englishman, no matter what his station in society, undergo "some kind of military training in youth sufficient to enable him to shoot straight and carry out simple orders, if ever his services are required for national defence." In other words, the Salisbury idea of universal rifle clubs is again revived, only in a less crude form. Kipling's "Army of a Dream," with its schoolboys spending their Saturday afternoons outmaneuvering and defeating the picked Imperial Guards, is still a bit beyond Earl Roberts's vision, and will, fortunately for England, continue to be such stuff as dreams—or nightmares—are made of. But England's Imperialists will find much in the noble Earl's views to make them believe that they can indulge in Imperialism at a lower

price than Continental nations. For this is what it comes down to. England wants not merely the greatest navy, but an army which will permit of her placing some 250,000 or 300,000 trained troops in an over-sea country as soon as war is declared. But, being a nation of shopkeepers, her people naturally resent the idea of being forced to give up one or two years of their lives in drilling that Balfours and Chamberlains may carry out their ideas of territorial aggrandizement across the seas.

Whether Earl Roberts's proposals are practical remains to be seen. One thing is certain: there will never be any agreement among military men as to the amount of training your fledgling Britisher should have. Field Marshal Roberts might be content with qualifying boys as marksmen and as proficient in the manual of arms, but Field Marshal Smith or Jones would be certain to insist upon a universal knowledge of guard and picket duty, open-order formations, and the elements of military engineering, as essential to the nation's safety. Of course, Earl Roberts states well-known facts when he writes that the new weapons necessitate new methods of fighting, and diminish the control of officers over their men. Almost everybody knew this before the Boer war except the British army, which has had another object-lesson in the readiness with which Japanese sergeants and corporals assume responsibilities—even to commanding battalions—when their superiors are shot down. No one will question Earl Roberts's right to demand thousands of trained reserve officers, but many people will add that the best way to get good reserve officers is to have efficient and well-trained active officers.

Amid confusion of comment on the Czar's reform ukase, nothing is more instructive than to note that practically all the changes asked by Count Tolstoy some three years ago have been approved in principle. At that time the venerable quietist believed himself to be dying, and addressed to the Czar a personal letter asking the abrogation of the laws that afflict peasants and workmen as such. Obviously, the promises made in the imperial rescript are the literal answer to this appeal. Accordingly, if the Russian situation is as black as it is painted, it is not because of any reactionary policy of the Czar, but because of the incalculably disturbing influence of the disaster in the Far East, or the too precipitate temper of the reformers. It is possible that all the news from Russia recently has had an unduly alarmist coloring, and, in particular, that criticism of the Czar's ukase has been based upon ignorance of the actual conditions and possibilities of reform in Russia.

THE CONVERSION OF GRIGGS.

Several corporation lawyers have suddenly seen a great light since the Garfield report, and have discovered that they always were the stoutest of State's rights men; but from no eyes have the scales fallen more marvellously than from those of the ex-Attorney-General, John W. Griggs. He sees a terrible usurpation threatened in the proposal of Federal licenses to do interstate business. That would mean that "almost every right of the States can be destroyed." Mr. Griggs has not so read the Constitution; and unless specific power to do so is nominated in that bond, he would shrink with horror from the thought of making the Federal Government "the critic or corrector of the States." Many have been strict constructionists, but it would seem that Mr. Griggs surpasses them all.

Hence one's first feeling is that it must have been some other Griggs who, as Attorney-General of the United States, argued the Insular cases before the Supreme Court almost exactly four years ago. That Griggs did not waste his time groping about among the literal provisions of the Constitution. He was boldly and loftily for having this nation exercise "all of the ordinary and necessary sovereign powers of an independent nation." "Why," he asked with impassioned eloquence, "seek needlessly to limit and restrain the national functions?" "Why should this Government be considered to have less freedom of action than other nations?" And the Griggs of that occasion laid down the following canon of Constitutional interpretation: "Instead of seeking strict and narrow construction," he said, "the powers of the Executive and of the legislative branches were to be so construed as to give them a wise and safe discretion." But at that time, of course, it was only a question of extinguishing the national existence of 8,000,000 of people. The Constitution, under a Griggian construction, was adequate for that; but when it is proposed to have this same sovereign and all-powerful nation clip the claws of a corporation, Mr. Griggs sees the whole Constitutional structure crashing about his head.

We forbear to press the comicality of all this; a Saul among the prophets may safely be left to the risibles of his audience. But it is late in the day to begin arguing against a broad application of the Constitutional power of Congress to "regulate commerce" among the States. Historically, it may well be true that the clause was intended simply to deprive the States of power to vex each other's commerce—a power exercised so calamitously under the Articles of Confederation. Yet a long line of judicial decisions has sustained multiform legislation by Congress under that grant of power; and to-day it stands as one of those general principles, or legal max-

ims, out of which measures to suit the need of the hour may easily be drawn. Certainly it is no great abuse of the Constitution to take a clause designed to prevent one State from hampering the commerce of another, and use it to prevent a corporation chartered by one State from oppressing the citizens of another.

Commissioner Garfield quietly sums up the law and the facts when he closes his review of the Constitutional powers of Congress over corporate business by saying:

"Briefly, as to interstate and foreign commerce, the United States is one country, one legislative area; and when Federal regulation of such commerce enters any given State for the purpose of operating on such commerce, it enters it not as foreign territory, but as a part of its own jurisdiction." Insensibly yet inevitably this idea has come to pervade the public mind. Prof. J. W. Burgess, in his St. Louis address last September on "Present Problems of Constitutional Law," which is published in the current number of the *Political Science Quarterly*, mentioned the national regulation of commerce as a matter now calling for action in the United States. Said this philosophical and detached commentator:

"Whatever may have been natural a century ago, when the settled parts of the commonwealths of this Union were separated from each other by comparatively impassable districts of primeval forest and there was comparatively little intercourse between them, now, when these obstacles have entirely disappeared and intercourse is so active that no man notes his passage from one commonwealth into another, it has become entirely unnatural and scarcely longer endurable that the law governing commerce should not be exclusively national. The existence of the common law as the basis of the law of the commonwealths upon this subject has minimized the difficulty of a great nation getting on with systems of local commercial law; but the differences in detail, at first hardly noticeable, have now, on account of the vast development in the complexity of these relations, become almost unendurable."

Professor Burgess would have the matter dealt with, preferably, by Constitutional amendment; but if it cannot be done in that way, "then the United States judiciary must put a much more liberal interpretation upon the existing commerce clauses of the Constitution."

No sensible man counsels any sudden or violent stop in this business. The whole matter will have to be threshed out in the press and in Congress. Meanwhile, we cannot but feel that it is delicious impudence for the men who have for years been appealing to Caesar, now to make a great outcry when told that to Caesar they shall go. They have run to the general Government for every imaginable aid to their business. They have lobbied for land grants, log-rolled for tariff stealings, plotted for ship subsidies, schemed for appropriations, intrigued for Government contracts, conspired for new territory to exploit; yet when it is proposed that the Government which has thus fed Leviathan

shall now put a hook in his jaw, we are told that all such resorts to Federal authority are fraught with dangers to liberty. Protest does not lie in the mouth of Mr. Griggs and men like him. It is not for them to make such an ado when their own chalice is commended to their lips.

PROMOTIONS IN THE GOVERNMENT SERVICE.

In a remarkable letter to the *Sun* of Saturday last, a writer, vouched for as a "distinguished officer," made a plea for radically changing our system of naval promotions by making them rewards for the best men eligible for advancement. He would have the inefficient stay behind until they had reached a certain age, when they should retire without having reached command rank. As matters stand now, promotion boards hesitate to find a man unfit for advancement, because rejection generally means ejection from the service at an age when an officer is unfitted to turn readily to a civilian employment. The same condition is found in the army, except that there an officer has the privilege of a second examination at the end of a year if he fails in his first. Since this procedure was established, thirteen years ago, no officers save second lieutenants have been dropped as unfit for promotion, and not a dozen of these.

This does not mean that all the officers advanced were really fit for higher rank. In the case of majors and lieutenant-colonels there is no examination at all, while there are plenty of captains who slip through the last examinations merely because their fellows will not discharge a man whose first gray hairs have begun to appear. One of our recent Secretaries of War bemoaned the fact that he could not even get retirement boards to retire incapacitated officers. In one case known to us a captain who could not get on a horse or march two miles, was solemnly passed by a board of moss-backed comrades who were quite ready to swear that he was fit to command a battalion in the field. It is human nature not to turn out a man to starve when he is fifty. And, besides, there is a feeling that an officer's commission gives him a permanent tenure. The Government may retire a man for age or disability, but it must not dismiss him unless he is publicly intoxicated or embezzles by duplicating his pay accounts.

This whole question of the permanence of Government employees and their advancement is not limited to the military branches of our Government. Proposals for removing the dead-wood within the civil service appear at every session of Congress, as do plans for the creation of a retired list for superannuated employees. Mr. John Sharp Williams's plan is to appoint clerks for a

long term, such as sixteen years. If inefficient, they could be turned out then, and if valuable, they could be reappointed. Army and navy retired lists were not established until after the outbreak of the civil war, when it became necessary to get rid of a lot of aged and infirm officers. Hence those who are working for some kind of pension for civil employees take heart by remembering that the classified civil service is not as long established as was the army when it got retired pay for officers and men. But the mere establishment of pensions does not reach the difficulty with which the army and navy are especially confronted—how to get the same amount of efficiency out of a man who has been twenty years in the service as that which he displayed on entering the Government's employ. In civil occupations a man must at all times keep abreast of his work and the developments of his profession or business. There are no tender-hearted retiring boards to retain him on full pay when he has reached the limit of his usefulness.

Civil service reformers are ready to admit that some solution for this question must be found before the system will be beyond criticism. A head of a department has, of course, the right to dismiss an inefficient subordinate at any time on the presentation of charges in writing. But the procedure results in so much trouble in the form of protests and visits from politicians that it is generally resorted to only where there is obvious misconduct, or neglect of duty through absence. The power of dismissal is practically of no avail as a stimulus to efficiency, while promotions are hardly more a recognition of exceptional service than they are in the army or navy.

No elaborate legislation is needed to make advancements, in either the army or navy, rewards of merit. In the army it would require a statute prescribing the examination of every officer up to and including the rank of colonel as to his mental, moral, and professional fitness for the rank to which he is eligible. As matters stand now, many officers are passed on upward who can drill a company without an error and pass a required text-book examination, but the examiners have no right to question a man's moral fitness or his capacity to command. He may be a roué or a notorious gambler, or so destitute of the power to lead and discipline his subordinates that his men desert in blocks of five; but if he can explain the theory of Cossack outposts and reel off a hastily memorized manual for advanced guard duty, he is passed with flying colors. Should an officer fail in his mental examination, after fifteen or twenty years' service, he ought to have the right of retirement on half-pay; if he should be found unfit by reason of personal misconduct or bad habits, the Government would be under no

obligation to pay him a single cent beyond the year's pay now granted to an officer honorably discharged for failure in examinations.

Practically the same regulations would accomplish for the navy precisely what is urged by the writer in the *Sun*, always provided that the moral and professional tone of both services can be raised so that examining and retiring boards will do their duty. If this spirit of sinking personal feelings in the interest of the Government cannot be instilled at West Point and Annapolis, or by the civilian officials of the respective departments at Washington, then there should be appointed examining and retiring boards, composed partly of retired officers and partly of civilians, who could be relied upon to dispense justice without fear or favor. Much more could be done by the secretaries of the navy and of war than is now attempted. For instance, the threat to court-martial such a board as passed the captain above referred to would have a remarkably tonic effect. Similar permanent examining boards before which civilian clerks should appear at intervals, or when up for promotion, may yet be established; for if permanence of tenure is essential to the proper conduct of the Government business, it is no part of the contract between it and its employee that the latter shall accomplish only 50 per cent. as much as his brother who works for the electric-light company across the way.

THE TRIUMPH OF OPTIMISM.

"I had as lief submit my claims to sit here to the electorate of New York as to the Legislature of New York. When my term expires, I shall have reached a period of life when it will be exceedingly doubtful whether I shall care to come here again."

These words are from a speech of Chauncey M. Depew, delivered April 11, 1902, in a debate on the election of United States Senators by popular vote. On Thursday, when he emerged from the conference in which Gov. Odell capitulated, he announced:

"It's all settled. Optimism wins. The optimistic man usually gets there, in my experience."

In his willingness to submit his claims to the electorate of New York, Senator Depew gave a touching exhibition of optimism. In looking for a re-election at his "period of life," he was still more optimistic; and in hoping to succeed against the opposition of Odell he rose to the superlative degree. But his faith, combined with the backing of the New York Central and other corporation interests, has tunneled, even if it has not removed, mountains.

As to the attitude of Odell there can be no doubt. In his public statement he admits that his "sympathy" was with Black. *Sympathy* is a feeble word. All Odell's intimates, in and out of the de-

lectable Tapeworm Club, were shouting for Black. Congressman Littauer, "Lou" Payn, State Senator Brackett, William L. Ward of Westchester, and William C. Warren of Buffalo were hot partisans of Black. The *Troy Times*, in a leading editorial, explained that Black had really been forced into the field by the importunities of his friends; and the *New York Press*, the chief anti-Platt organ, announced some time ago that the election of Black had been a settled fact for weeks. As late as Thursday morning, the *Press*, to which Gov. Odell ought in decency to have given a quiet tip, gravely reiterated the reasons why the Senator must be Black and not Depew. The Odell faction was thoroughly committed; and yet, before the threatened blow fell, Depew managed to muster enough strength to arrest Odell's mailed fist.

The result must be a deep mortification to the retiring Governor. During his four years as chief executive he has painfully built up a machine—a steam-roller, his detractors call it—that has enabled him to crush his old benefactor Platt, and to claim the succession as boss. Before the moment came for laying down office, Odell's power seemed invincible; he held the Legislature with an iron hand; he controlled the State Conventions of 1902 and 1904. His obvious purpose was to proceed in the exhilarating work and have a United States Senator of his own, some one through whom he could demand a share of the Federal patronage. He went about the task with his usual firmness and confidence. His adherents were so sure of the outcome that they had begun their feasts of celebration, and their brass bands were already playing "See, the Conquering Hero Comes." In this hour of humiliation Senator Depew has tried to save Odell's face by praising his magnanimity and diplomacy. The Senator may even have made concessions on patronage; but the brute fact remains that Odell was, as Speaker Nixon is said to have told him, "up against it." He was forced to back squarely down, while the angry partisans of Black damned him to his face as a "quitter."

The secret of this ignominious retreat may never be fully told. It would be idle to deny that the extended ramifications of the Vanderbilt railroads in business, journalism, and politics have been of vast assistance to Senator Depew. But this aspect of the question is not novel; it is older than many of Senator Depew's most famous jests. The new factor in the reckoning has been Governor-elect Higgins. He more than any other one man is probably responsible for the re-election of Depew. He has held his own tongue—held it at a time when, to the disinterested observer, utterance would have seemed more courageous and effective. But his judgment

is apparently justified in the event. He promised to be "no man's man," and thus far he has lived up to his word. He has supplanted with an appointee of his own Charles S. Boyd, Gov. Odell's personal friend, the Superintendent of Public Works. As Mr. Boyd, presumably with Odell behind him, wanted to keep the office, which controls an enormous amount of patronage, this change must perceptibly weaken the Odell organization. More significant still was the quiet passing from mouth to mouth of the assurance that Governor Higgins would not let Odell "punish" members of the Legislature who voted for Depew. This, with a number of Senators and Assemblymen, must have been the weight which turned the scales.

Republican newspapers are, of course, shrieking in glad acclaim over the settlement. Governor Odell, Governor-elect Higgins, Senator Platt, Senator Depew, ex-Governor Black, and all the rest are great and good. Never were statesmen more far-sighted, never were they more willing to sacrifice their private ambitions to the welfare of the Grand Old Party on which the salvation of the country depends. Never have New York Republican politicians formed such a happy family; never has harmony been so harmonious. And all this ecstasy because the party boss has failed to have his own way. One is tempted to ask why, when all these blessings flow from a single act of rebellion, the position of boss should not be left unoccupied permanently. Such an arrangement would bewilder many legislators, who would not know how to vote unless they had a boss to tell them; it would disorganize the present scheme of government by which the representatives of the people take all their instructions from a man who is responsible to no one but himself. Yet, revolutionary as the idea is, it might be worth trying—if only as an amusing experiment in political science.

WHERE IMMIGRANTS ARE WANTED

In his administration of the immigration bureau, Commissioner Sargent has lately taken up the plan of diverting the stream of arriving aliens, by some means as yet undiscovered, into the channels where it will do least harm. "Least harm" rather than "most good" has, in fact, been the idea dwelt upon in most of the recent discussion of the immigration problem, both official and otherwise. The problem of relieving the herding of immigrants in large cities, highly important as of course it is, has been approached generally from that side.

Yet while these great cities are concerning themselves over the inundation of unassimilable foreigners, and the manufacturing centres generally are complaining of the danger to the Amer-

ican standard of living, it is interesting to glance at some of the communities which are still anxious for immigration and trying their hardest to get the sort they want. Only a few days ago a plan was set afoot in South Carolina for a general convention of State and Government delegates, railroad officials, and sociologists, to discuss the problem of attracting immigration to the South. The suggestion was made to the South Carolina Immigration Commissioner at a time when that official had just received requests for information from Virginia, North Carolina, and Florida, all of which States were anxious to follow any plan that had proved successful with their neighbor. "I believe," wrote a Northern man interested in the problem, "that such a Congress would attract great attention, and at it there might be solved some of the problems which beset the Government, now that it has entered on a career of reform as to immigration."

The plans which come to South Carolina's Commissioner, Mr. Watson, are varied enough in character. One company is being formed, in Charleston, which proposes to reclaim by drainage thousands of acres of land now unavailable, and settle these new areas as far as possible with Scandinavian immigrants. A former Swedish consul in this country is in charge of the colonizing features of the scheme, but native South Carolinians are behind it, and the Commissioner endorses it. He has recently been asked also to provide a plan for colonizing Russian Jews in the State. While the proposal seems to be only tentative, it has a special interest in that it is an effort to draw southward one of the classes of immigrants most inclined to congestion in the cities.

Mr. S. B. Sargent, who has been connected for twenty years with manufacturing in New England, sends the results of some of his own observations to the *Charleston News and Courier*. Pointing out that Southern cotton manufacturing has heretofore been most successful in the Piedmont section because of the abundance of cheap labor, he calls attention to a gradual change of conditions in this particular, and predicts that when the mills now closed or curtailing their production shall again be run to their full capacity, "the mill managements will then more seriously turn their attention to the problem of securing a portion of the most desirable of the immigrants who are continuously streaming into the northern parts of our country." Continuing, he calls attention to the Portuguese as a most desirable class of labor, both for factory work and for the development of lands for agriculture.

Further south, in Louisiana, the demand for labor is urgent, alike on plantations and on public works. Work is now being done on the levees, for in-

stance, under more than fifty contracts, national, State, and local. Meanwhile, the country negroes have continued to gravitate to the city. When a ship came in a month or two ago at New Orleans with 1,500 Italian immigrants, agents of the contractors competed with planters from inland counties in making terms with them. In all the South, however, the persistent negro question, with the lack of good public schools, is the great deterrent to foreign immigration of the better class, just as slavery was before the war.

"What stronger evidence of the necessity of a board of immigration can be given than can be found right here in St. Paul?" asks a Minnesota legislator who has interested himself in the plan, and proposes to push it again this winter. "Here is an establishment maintained by the Canadian Government—suite of offices, a full corps of agents, and an abundance of literature setting forth the advantages Manitoba affords. Every expense is met by the Canadian Government. Is it any wonder that, with such energy on the part of the Canadians, and with inactivity, disinterestedness, and paralysis on our part, they get the settlers and we get few, if any? Ever since the Canadian land boom, Minnesota has seen a stream of desirable settlers actually passing through her territory to settle on lands where, behind the tariff wall, they are lost to our markets." "Heretofore," remarks the *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, "we have depended on the railroads for the advertisement of the opportunities offered by Minnesota and for the personal campaign by which settlers are secured. But the lands of the railroads in Minnesota are dwindling, and their main efforts have for some years been directed to the building up of the population of States farther West. With the Canadian Government, they are strong and enterprising competitors against whom no headway can be made without an organized effort."

These are but a few of the phases of the immigration situation which have become matters of news interest in the past few weeks. The Industrial Commission has recently made a special investigation of the larger aspects of immigration to the South. These latest data represent a side of the problem which is easy to lose sight of in the thickly populated and fully developed States. Dislike of the immigrant in places where he is not wanted, has never been an effective force for making him go elsewhere. But the inducements of places that do want him must be the strongest aids to Mr. Sargent's plan for distribution. Once a respectable number of the arrivals are diverted to the South, for instance, the same desire to follow friends and kindred which has kept the foreigners in

plus grand que lui." Napoleon said very loudly: "Il faut que ces gens-là me croient bien bête." At a magnificent banquet given by the King of Saxony, Napoleon, finding the repast too long, asked for the dessert. On the King making some apologies to him, he answered by simply asking for the coffee. Napoleon asked Prince Kinsky, who wore the Hungarian costume, "Of what country is your wife?" "Sire, she is of the Empire." "Of what Empire?" "Sire, she comes from Coblenz." "Then say that she is French."

There was much talk at Dresden of a proclamation which Napoleon was to make to his army, announcing that he would be on the 15th of July in Saint Petersburg. There, he said, he would fix limits to the Empire of Russia. "Marie Louise," writes Mme. du Montet, "wept much over the departure of Napoleon. She is now at Prague. She loves him very frankly. She is singularly beautified, and is now very elegant, and consequently hardly recognizable." Mme. de Staél was in Vienna at the time, not at all pleased with the little enthusiasm shown towards her. "Many things are said; there is talk of a *grossesse*, of a certain M. de Rocca, of a secret marriage." We have a curious extract from a letter written by Baron du Montet to his wife after a visit paid him by Mme. de Staél:

"Mme. de Staél has come and gone. . . . Our first interview with her was a tête-à-tête. I sat next to her on a sofa. The conversation became interesting for what she put in it; as for myself, I fell into my distraction, so that I know only half the beautiful things she told me. Poor Alexandreine, how I pity you! Mme. de Staél is convinced that your husband is but a fool. . . . She seemed to say to me that she was persecuted because she would not burn incense to King Napoleon. I answered, without thinking: 'So there are but three independent Powers in the world—England, Russia, and you.' . . . I thought that I had said a foolish thing. Not at all; my answer was thought original and witty, and she pressed my hand with emotion."

He speaks afterwards of the Chevalier de Rocca, "whom Madame de Staél treats like an obedient son rather than as a lover, and who is nothing extraordinary."

We find a few details regarding the famous Queen Caroline of Naples, who died on the 8th of September, 1814, at the castle of Hetzendorf. The Empress Marie Louise, who retired to Austria after the fall of Napoleon, often saw the Queen, who was her grandmother. She brought to her her son, the little Napoleon (the "Aiglon"). Queen Caroline never called him otherwise than "Mon petit Monsieur"; when she heard of the marriage of the Archduchess with Napoleon, she said: "Nothing was wanting in the list of my misfortunes but to become the grandmother of the devil." Speaking of Napoleon, she used to say: "Hell is in his heart, and chaos in his head."

Madame du Montet was at Vienna during the famous Congress of 1814. Immense preparations were made to receive the sovereigns. Feasts were given every day; the Prince de Ligne called the congress *un congrès dansant*. There are long and rather amusing descriptions of the balls given for the sovereigns. Madame du Montet, though her lot had been cast away from France, remained a Frenchwoman at heart, as is well shown by a few lines she writes at the time of the entrance of the Allies into Paris: "There," she writes, "is a letter which has thrown

my pride as a Frenchwoman into despair. I am furious; all the more so because this letter tells the truth." It was a letter written by a Frenchman, in the service of Austria, M. de Lort, a friend and comrade of M. du Montet, and describes the state of Paris in 1814.

"The men, who are always the same, have never so signally manifested as now the neutrality of their selfishness. Marshals, ministers, senators, courtiers are hastening to abandon their idol. . . . Gold was never more abundant in Paris than at present; millions of gulden circulate every day; the shops are emptied. . . . The Allies glory in their victory; the French marshals and the Senate thank God for their own defeat; epidemic outbursts, general joy, drown the sighs of a few familiar of Napoleon; the women especially, in their joy, electrify by the spontaneous expression of their royalism; the Emperor Alexander gives fraternal kisses to marshals and senators."

This letter from an émigré, written after a grand review in the square where Louis XVI. had been executed, reminded me of the lines of Jules Barbier:

"J'ai vu nos femmes, belles d'impudent,
Aux regards du Cosaque étaler leur poitrines
Et s'enivrer de son odeur. . . ."

To do justice to Madame du Montet, though she kept this letter, she did not wholly share the sentiments of the writer, while unable to disagree with the last sentiment expressed: "All this inspires me with an ironical contempt for *Messieurs les Séneurs*, who, under the new Constitution, have, with paternal care, assured the fate of their dear posterity at the expense of the posterity of others."

Correspondence.

THE CRUSADE AGAINST BORAX.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your valuable issue of December 15, 1904, you have an article headed "The Pursuit of Pure Food." It is certainly alarming to the public at large to read the sensational reports of the detrimental effects of one-half gramme of borax on the human system. Dr. Wiley made his experiments for a period of fifty days, and considered it a very severe test. He well knows that England has been consuming boraxed foods for a quarter of a century, and she partakes of boraxed foods daily. She does not have periods of rest to recuperate from the evil effects of borax on the system, because no ill effects are noted. If Dr. Wiley's conclusions are logical, why are not the same symptoms he describes visible in the English nation? Dr. Wiley could not have fed his "poison squad" on nice, fresh, sweet quail for thirty days without detrimental results. Dr. Wiley had the same menu for all his boarders, which is not logical. His method of administering borax or boracic acid in capsules was not logical.

I was recently in Washington, and I visited the Bureau of Chemistry building and saw the dining-room where Dr. Wiley is making his experiments, and I can assure you the conditions and surroundings in the dining-room, hall and kitchen would certainly conduce to deprive a normal human being of his appetite, and the odors of chemicals, oils and gas would cause a dull headache and a nauseating feeling. It certainly is not to Dr. Wiley's credit

to conduct scientific experiments in such an unscientific manner. If funds are not available to furnish clean, hygienic quarters for a kitchen and dining-room, I would suggest that a tent be used for the purpose. A tent would certainly be free from obnoxious odors, and a nice green grass floor would be cleaner and more healthful than a soiled cement floor.

Borax and boracic acid are the mildest antiseptics known, and if Dr. Wiley condemns them, what substitute has he to offer? Under existing circumstances, it is absolutely essential to use some method for preserving perishable articles of food. England was forced to use some preservative, and, after a most searching investigation, she learned that borax and boracic acid were the best preservatives she could employ to have her meats and butter arrive in a sweet, healthful and palatable condition. I presume the Englishman takes more borax into his system in a fortnight than Dr. Wiley's boarders did in their fifty-day siege. Nevertheless, the English nation is recognized as one of the most healthful nations on the face of the globe. With these facts before us, how can we consider the result of Dr. Wiley's experiment logical?

I most heartily approve of labelling all articles of food, said label to show amount and kind of preservative used, thus acquainting the purchaser with the nature of the articles purchased, and letting the consumer learn from experience (as the English nation has learned) the value and innocence of borax and boracic acid as a mild, excellent, wholesome preservative.

Yours very truly, H. H. LANGDON.
427 W. 22d St., NEW YORK, December 29, 1904.

AMERICAN PRICES FOR ENGLISH BOOKS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The price charged by the American publishers for the third volume of Saintsbury's "History of Criticism" ("printed by William Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh, Scotland") does not sustain Mr. Howells's contention, in the Easy Chair of the December Harper's, that we are to-day paying much more for our English books than we should be but for the existence of the international copyright law. The American publishers mail the volume in question for \$3.70 net. The price of the book in England is twenty shillings net, which, with the added postage, makes the book cost an English purchaser fully \$1.25 more than he would have to pay if he imported the book from America. All of which is pleasant enough for us, but likely to be, I should think, a bit irritating to the English book-buyer.

D. M.

Notes.

Further announcements from Macmillan Co. are the first volume of Prof. Edward Channing's "History of the United States," to make eight in all; "Western Europe in the Fifth Century," by the late Edward A. Freeman; "An Unwritten Chapter in the History of Education," viz., of the Society for the Education of the Poor in Ireland, 1811-1831, by Dr. H. Kingswell Moore of Bal-

liol; 'Progress and the Fiscal Problem,' by Thomas Kirkup; 'Sir Walter Raleigh,' by Sir Rennell Rod; a 'Pocket Biography of Shakspere,' by Alfred Ewen; 'Franz Hals,' by Gerald S. Davies; and 'The Cathedral Church of St. Asaph,' by P. B. Ironside Bax.

'Legends and Tales,' of Jewish interest, compiled by Isabel B. Cohen, will be published this month by the Jewish Publication Society of America.

The present month will also witness the bringing out by the University Press of a facsimile of the autograph MS. of Keats's 'Hyperion,' in an edition limited to 195 copies. This manuscript belonged to the late Lord Houghton, and contains twenty-one hitherto unpublished lines.

Simultaneously with the completion of the fund commemorative of the late Sir Leslie Stephen (amounting to nearly \$4,000, employed partly in producing a large photogravure of Watt's portrait of Stephen, and the remainder in founding a lectureship in literature at Cambridge bearing his name), Messrs. Putnam bring out a first instalment of the author's own monument—to wit, his Essays, Literary and Critical. The 'Hours in a Library,' in four volumes, makes this group; to be followed early in the present year by the Essays on Free Thinking and Plain Speaking, and later by still others. We need not review again the 'Hours in a Library.' Their present form is elegant, yet simple, and the page very legible. Amid the various periods and nationalities surveyed by Stephen in this series, we may remind our readers that the two American writers considered are Jonathan Edwards and Hawthorne. Few essays can be more profitably kept at one's elbow, or give greater intellectual pleasure.

The current Critic makes formal announcement of its having absorbed the *Literary World* of Boston, a journal exclusively literary, which underwent many vicissitudes of editing and publishing in its three decades of existence.

From Lemcke & Buechner we receive the two annuals whose eclipse would darken any New Year—*Minerva* and the *Almanach de Gotha*. *Minerva* presents anew the result of an endeavor to satisfy the learned world whose personnel it records, while not exceeding the bounds of expense and of bulkiness. Minor institutions whose relation to mankind at large is relatively unimportant have been dropped in favor of new ones of dignity and promise. A few names are thus erased from the Register, which is the crowning utility of this invaluable year-book. *Minerva's* portrait this year is of the genial, German-looking Pietro Blaserna, director of the Physical Institute in Rome, and president of the Royal Accademia dei Lincei. His graduating thesis at the University of Vienna was, indeed, in German. This veteran physicist and author is now in his sixty-ninth year.

The *Almanach's* frontispiece for its 142d issue is a portrait of Caroline, the Grand Duchess of Saxony; the Grand Duke's follows, and the regulation third and fourth are of Frederick, Prince of Solms-Baruth, and of Count Lamendorff, Russia's Minister of Foreign Affairs. In attempting to record the respective armaments of the two great Powers at war in the Far East, the editor says that Russia has given information freely, as heretofore, but it cannot be trusted on account of the changes caused by the

campaign, while Japan on her part declines all information. The lost ships are marked with an obelisk. Other editorial difficulties have grown out of extraordinary changes in the personnel of Cabinets and diplomacy, and of increasing demands on space, some omitted features having had to be restored in consequence of reclamations.

Two other annuals of great utility reach us from London, 'Whitaker's Almanack for 1905' (thirty-seventh year) and 'Whitaker's Peerage.' Both exhibit new wrinkles, and both retrench. Pertinent to present economic discussion in Great Britain is the Almanack's section displaying the Movement of British Commerce in 1904. The Peerage now claims for itself a high degree of authority for the proper "designations and styles of the relatives of Peers." The note on the colonial use of the term "Honorable" has been revised and made more definite.

The Iliad in a nutshell, and Boswell's Life of Johnson in one volume—a miracle of compactness, achieved by the Oxford University Press (H. Frowde) by printing its two-volume edition of 680+744 pages on its famous thin paper, so that one may carry the book with ease in his coat-pocket, and, what is more, enjoy a letterpress fit for aging eyes. There are two portraits of Dr. Johnson, and an index of 45 pages.

A like compression has been similarly effected in George Newnes's 'Journal to Stella, together with Other Writings relating to Stella and Vanessa' (Scribner). Here we have, in a thin oblong book with flexible covers, 713 pages packed away, index included, of very fair type, with a portrait of Swift and an ornate title-page. Prettier still, partly because of a thicker, more opaque, paper, and marked by the same accessories, is 'Early Italian Poets from Giulio D'Alcamo to Dante Alighieri (1100-1200-1300) in the original metres, together with Dante's Vita Nuova, Translated by D. G. Rossetti' (Newnes-Scribner). This is a delightful reprint of a classic.

We have spoken often in praise of the meritorious reprint of the First Folio of Shakspere carried through in a scholarly manner by Charlotte Porter and Helen A. Clarke (Crowell). The latest to appear in the handy series is "Julius Caesar," with the customary apparatus of introduction, notes, glossary, variant readings, and selected criticism.

In one of his letters to Mathilde Wesendonck, Richard Wagner describes eloquently the difficulty he and his French assistant experienced in translating his "Tannhäuser" poem into another language. "Parsifal" is more difficult than that early work. Several attempts to give its equivalent in English have been made, some of them with considerable success; but the latest surpasses all the others in combining fidelity to the text with good English and intelligibility. It is by George Turner Phelps of Harvard, and makes a volume of eighty-five pages of German text and the same number of English pages (Richard G. Badger). The insertion between the lines of the poem of indications as to orchestral interludes ("orchestra, three bars," "orchestra, nine bars") seems somewhat whimsical, although the translator gives his reason for it: "In order to suggest the elaborate fulness of the orchestral score, and to prevent the impression of the drama as being a simple tale, quickly told, and easily slipped over

in a casual half-hour, the more important shorter breaks are included," etc. There are a few misprints, and in the preface the word "orchestration" occurs in an unusual sense; but in all essential matters Mr. Phelps's little volume is excellent; it should be in the collection of every Wagner lover. He has evidently no sympathy with those who hold that "Parsifal" reveals Wagner's declining powers; to him it is "the product of a mind gifted with marvellous creative imagination."

Two other recent little books on "Parsifal" call for brief mention—"The Legends of Parsifal," by Mary Hanford Ford (H. M. Caldwell Co.), and "Parsifal, Lohengrin, and the Holy Grail," by Alice Leighton Cleather and Basil Crump (G. Schirmer). The first of these tells the story of the opera and compares it with its sources; the second brings together two of Wagner's works which, though chronologically separated by more than thirty years, have their common basis in the legend of the Holy Grail. Much interesting matter relating to the two operas is contained in this book; among other things a photographic facsimile of the end of a letter in which Wagner signs himself as "Your grateful Buddhist" ("Ihr dankbarer Buddhist"). Wagner's library contained all the sacred books of the East; as regards his scholarship in general, we are told that "a historian might have selected those books on ancient national customs, a philologist those on myths and saga, a sculptor or architect those on the plastic arts, and a poet that treasury of epics and dramas."

Since photography and process work have enabled publishers to bring out illustrated books at relatively modest prices, it must have occurred to more than one sincere person that the great demand for art books was due much more to an interest in the reproductions than in the text they embellished. As these texts have too often been not only dull and unreadable, but ignorant or misinformed, the same sincere person wished them abolished or at least curtailed, and their places taken by more illustrations. It was sure to come to this, and in the English series of "Newnes's Art Library," and in the far superior German "Klassiker der Kunst," we have in each volume a large number of reproductions of our great masters' works, prefaced by a brief introduction, and followed by a summary catalogue. They are very good for the money, and very convenient. For the last volume in the English series, on Benozzo Gozzoli, we should have nothing but praise if both introduction and catalogue were omitted, and if some pictures had not slipped in which have no relation to the subject.

The American Folk Lore Society have published through Houghton, Mifflin & Co. "Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee," by George A. Dorsey, curator of the department of anthropology in the Field Columbian Museum. The collection of these traditions was carried on for nearly four years, first under a special grant made by the Museum, and later with funds provided by the Carnegie Institution of Washington. The Pawnee, according to Powell's classification, are a group of the Caddoan linguistic stock, and the Skidi are closely related to the Arikara. From the beginning of their history until a recent date the Pawnee have been a people of the great plains, dwelling

in buffalo-hide tipis, or in earth lodges of the type which studies of the Mandan and Arikara have made familiar. As a plains people they were largely dependent upon the chase, but gave also considerable time to agriculture. The social organization was based upon the village. No trace of the clan has been found. In religion they reached the highest development of any of the plains tribes, and their ritual was elaborate, "a star cult of the very highest order." It will be seen that here is offered a most valuable field for investigation, and the work has been well and thoroughly done. The book is a very important contribution to American folklore. Included in the volume are a number of "Coyote Tales." Coyote was as clever as Brer Rabbit.

The Fulani, the ruling race in Northern Nigeria, are the subject of a suggestive article in the *Geographical Journal* for December, by Major Burdon, Resident of the Sokoto Province. Simple shepherds a century ago, they have developed, through their responsibilities as rulers, into a people who in some respects excel all other Africans. A striking characteristic is "the very deep-rooted desire for constitutional government. The emirs are elected by the will of the people as voiced by the Council of Elders, and this council must be consulted by them in their public acts." The method of appointment to office is interesting. A man's name is suggested, and the emir "promises it his favorable consideration, allows this fact to be published, and then waits for a month or so to see whether the proposal is acceptable to the people. If no notice is taken of the suggested promotion, the matter is dropped as unpopular. But if congratulations pour in, and the officer-elect begins to be universally addressed by the new rank which is promised him, it is a certain sign that the appointment meets with approval, and it is then carried into effect. . . . Through these Councils of Princes the future emir enters the service of the State, climbing the ladder of promotion by force of character, wealth, and public service till he reaches, at a ripe age, the position of heir apparent, from which he succeeds by right to the emirate." The aim of their English overlords is to "make of these born rulers a high type of British official, working for the good of their subjects in accordance with the ideals of the British Empire, but carrying on all that is best in the constitution they have evolved for themselves, the one best understood by, and therefore best suited to, the people." The occupation of the country by Great Britain has been too recent to permit of any definite statement as to the attitude of the native towards the foreigner. Among hopeful signs, however, is this incident: "A little while ago, in a town where less than a year before men had died happy cursing us as infidels, the Resident lay dangerously ill. He was publicly prayed for throughout the mosquea." Dr. H. R. Mill describes the physical features of England and Wales as an accompaniment to a surface-relief map on which there is a new nomenclature adopted by the Royal Geographical Society for the larger features.

Petermann's Mitteilungen, number ten, contains a description of the physical fea-

tures and geology of the Karadagh on the northern frontier of Persia. It is a summary of the results obtained from the explorations of some Russian mining engineers who had secured from the Persian Government a concession for exploiting the mineral wealth of the region. Professor Lendenfeld treats of the ancient glaciation of the Australian Alps, appending to his article a bibliography of the literature of the subject.

The proposal to make a Jewish settlement in East Africa seems likely to be realized. At a meeting of "Friends of Jewish Freedom," recently held in London, Sir Harry Johnston, who was originally opposed to the scheme, declared himself in favor of it as now practicable. He described the land offered as about equal in area to Wales, covered with rich alluvial soil, well watered, with a climate "near perfection," and practically uninhabited. The Uganda Railway passes within twenty or thirty miles of part of the territory. It is proposed that, if the colony is established, it shall be constituted as a separate province of British East Africa, administered locally by a Jewish governor. Three commissioners have gone to visit the region, and are expected to report to the next Zionist Congress.

The longest Neo-Punic inscription extant has lately been found by M. de Mathuisieux in Tripolis. It is finely made and well preserved. According to its text, a temple of Ammon stood at the place where it was found, and this is a votive inscription. Fortunately, there can be no doubt as to the date, namely, 15 or 16 A. D., and the find is probably the most valuable ever made for the history of the Punic language.

Of the Archaeological Atlas of Algeria which is being published with the assistance of the French Cultus Ministry by Stéphane Gsell and a large corps of specialists, the two first fasciculi, consisting of sixteen sheets, have just made their appearance. The Atlas is based on the chart published by the Service Géographique de l'Armée, on the scale of 1:200,000. This will give a total of fifty-one sheets. All historic localities, remnants of walls, roads, names, etc., are marked in red. Each sheet is accompanied by a detailed descriptive text, in which special prominence is given to old and modern geography. In the case of the leading ruins, plans on a larger scale are furnished, with full data concerning the inscriptions found there and the distribution of troops.

In connection with the University of Berlin, a special seminary for East-European history and kindred subjects (*Landeskunde*) has just been established. For the present season four special courses are announced; one, by the director, Professor Schliemann, on Russo-English Treaties; another, by Professor Schalfejin, on the Russian language; a third, by Professor Kretschmer, on the Historical Geography of the South European Peninsula; and a fourth, by Dr. Ballod, on Russian Finances and Trade.

The Massachusetts Civil-Service Reform Auxiliary renews its offer to furnish free of all expense pamphlets on civil-service reform to all high schools, normal schools, and colleges willing to make these pamphlets the subject of a lesson in their Civics course. During the past three years more than 70,000 of the pamphlets have been distributed to about 1,000 schools and col-

leges scattered throughout every State and Territory of the United States. Copies of "The Merit System—The Spoils System," by Edward Cary, and "The Merit System in Municipalities," by Clinton Rogers Woodruff, together with other of the Auxiliary's publications, may be obtained free on application to the Assistant Secretary, Miss Marian C. Nichols, 55 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, Mass.

—Mr. Frank A. Vanderlip, in *Scribner's* for January, begins his series of papers on political problems of Europe as they interest Americans. Assuming the commercial point of view as the most important, he devotes his first paper largely to a consideration of the chances for stability in the existing European governments, since commercial development, and consequent ability to compete with American products, depend largely upon political stability. His general conclusion is that for many years to come the present situation will remain practically undisturbed. The death of the present ruler will not disrupt even the badly coherent empire of Austria-Hungary, since conditions are not such as to lead any other Power to desire its territory. Mr. Vanderlip recognizes the immense burden of the present military system of the European Powers, and finds no reason whatever to hope for any lessening of the burden, but still thinks that in some way it will be carried without political disaster. He does not consider the arbitration movement as of sufficient power to restrain any ruler or people that really wishes to fight; and still less can it originate an effective movement towards disarmament. Continental European parliaments he regards as practically a failure, and the constant ferment in which they are kept by questions of the relations of Church and State should lead us to look with some complaisance, he thinks, upon the charge that we are a nation of dollar-worshippers, concerning ourselves with only such political questions as affect our pocketbooks. Thomas F. Millard writes of some of the lessons on the conduct of war to be derived from the present conflict between Japan and Russia. He finds no encouragement for those who have been hoping for a mitigation of the evils of war from the very deadliness of its modern appliances. Troops will endure a certain amount of carnage before they will give up the conflict, no matter how or under what conditions that carnage is produced. In changing its methods, war has not changed its real nature, its objects, or its results.

—The hopeful feeling with regard to the future of Austria-Hungary which Mr. Vanderlip expresses in *Scribner's* is not apparent in the paragraph which Andrew D. White devotes to "the sorrows of Francis Joseph," in his diplomatic reminiscences in the *Century*. "His empire," says this writer, "which is a seething caldron of hates, racial, religious, political, and local, is held together by love and respect for him; but, when he dies, this personal tie which unites all these different races, parties, and localities will disappear, and in place of it will come the man who by force of untoward circumstances is to be his successor, and this is anything but a pleasing prospect to an Austro-Hungarian, or indeed to any thoughtful observer of human affairs." Mr. White's reminiscences are very sugges-

tive reading to any one who takes a reflective interest in our relations with other lands. Randall Blackshaw's paper on "London in Transformation" is another reminder of how rapidly old things are passing away under the spirit of the present age. The renaissance of energy has taken root even on such stony ground as Spain, as we learn incidentally from a brief paper in the same number by Christian Brinton, on Zuloaga, the Spanish painter. "The Spain of to-day is a vigorous, progressive nation, which is rapidly advancing politically, commercially, and aesthetically." Zuloaga, as Mr. Brinton sketches him, would make a fine subject for romance—the restless and discontented boy, put unsuccessfully to one occupation after another by his family; so discouraged by his first attempts to secure recognition as an artist that he throws it all up and enters the bull-ring, triumphant over eighteen bulls, only to be gored back to the brush and canvas again by the superior strength of the nineteenth; finally to win world-wide recognition as one of the great artists of his time. An "open letter" calls attention to Sainte-Beuve's engagement in 1869 as an occasional contributor to the *Evening Post*, and includes Sainte-Beuve's letter to Mr. John Bigelow regretting his inability, from lack of time and strength, to continue the contributions.

Professor Münsterberg's German book has been done into English by Dr. Edwin B. Holt, his assistant in the Harvard Psychological Laboratory, and makes a handsome volume which is a credit to its publishers ('The Americans,' McClure, Phillips & Co.). The original work was reviewed at length in these columns, so that all that now remains to be done is to speak of the merits of the translation. While the book is easily readable, being written in a fluent style and betraying little of the awkwardness which attaches to so many translations and at once betrays them as such, a cursory examination of passages taken at random reveals not a few infelicities, inaccuracies and ineptitudes. In some places the translator does not quite correctly reproduce the original, and in others he unnecessarily adds to it. Where the author says that the "American yields to inconvenient social requirements," the translator says he "lends himself to social situations which are otherwise inconvenient"; where the author speaks of amiability (*Liebenswürdigkeit*), the translator renders it "good-nature." The translator, again, speaks of the American Constitution as having "given the American body politic its remarkable and permanent" form, and of the "events which to-day arouse the keenest public interest"; in both of these cases the words we have italicized are absent from the original. It is often necessary in a version to transpose words in order to avoid ambiguity or an unidiomatic construction; the present translator does this where there is no reason and no necessity for it, and where it actually weakens the phrase. An instance in point is Dr. Holt's speaking of American ambition being directed toward "athletic virtuous and wealth," while in the original the word "wealth" comes first, in conformity with the elementary rule, followed unconsciously by men who have the literary instinct, that of two nouns, one qualified by an

adjective and the other not, the latter should, if possible, come first. Again, in speaking of the decline of the theological predominance, Professor Münsterberg says: "As late as 1790, 150 of the 350 pages of the book-catalogue of Harvard College were filled with theological books. To-day Harvard has nearly a million of books, the greater part of which belong to the domains of literature, history, philosophy, philosophy and jurisprudence." This is what his translator represents him as saying: "As early as 1790 the catalogue of Harvard College contained 350 pages, of which 150 were taken up by theological works. Harvard has to-day almost a million books, mostly in the department of, etc." Aside from infelicities of rendering there are occasional inelegancies, or, to speak more precisely, grammatical slips, as when we are told that "the demand for shorter hours and higher wages were the main issues."

—Among "distinctive features" of the Cambridge Edition of Wordsworth, just issued by Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Prof. A. J. George proposes the following desiderata (p. v.): "the latest text adopted by the poet"; "the chronological order of the poems"; "the date of composition and that of publication of each poem"; and a "bibliography of Wordsworth's works." In reproducing Wordsworth's text, aside from an occasional lapse from his use of capital letters, the publishers have succeeded well; in preparing it, the editor has evidently neglected the well-known textual criticism by Mr. Hutchinson in his preface to the Oxford Edition. In attempting a chronological arrangement of the poems, more than once Mr. George has slipped obviously. For example, he inherits (p. 70) a traditional misplacing of "The Birth of Love" (? 1795), allowing "The Reverie of Poor Susan" (1797) to precede it, as in the Globe Edition (p. 72); similarly, with the poems of 1811 he includes (pp. 399, 400), as does the Globe Edition (pp. 404, 405), two "Inscriptions" improperly dated 1808. In assigning dates of composition and first publication, Mr. George has fared ill. Following his records simply up to the year 1826, we find fifty-nine cases of agreement with faulty dates in the Globe Edition, which derives, of course, from the Edinburgh; we may wonder wherein the editor's acknowledged debt (p. vi.) to more trustworthy sources consists. A proper use of Mr. Hutchinson's Oxford Edition—not to speak of his article in the *Academy* for August 26, 1893—might have spared the sponsors of the Cambridge Edition some post-mortem regrets. In compiling his Bibliography, Mr. George has omitted not merely Mr. Hutchinson's reprint of 'Lyrical Ballads,' but even Professor Knight's indispensable Eversley Wordsworth. No excellence of type, inclusion of supplementary material like that in the Globe Edition, or of miscellaneous Notes from all quarters, whether properly supplied with quotation-marks and references or not—not even the presence of "The Recluse," hitherto guarded by a Macmillan copyright—can atone for such evidences of editorial incompetence, which might be multiplied.

—Two new periodicals in the field of Celtic philology have made their appearance within the year just closed—the *Celtic Re-*

view, to be published quarterly in Edinburgh, and *Eriu*, of which two numbers a year are to be issued by the School of Irish Learning in Dublin. The Scottish Gaels, though they have maintained their language in literary use and produced such eminent Gaelic scholars and writers as Campbell of Islay and Alexander Cameron in the last generation, or Dr. Macbain and Mr. Carmichael in the present, have nevertheless borne a comparatively small part in the recent revival of Celtic studies. It is the object of the new review to stimulate them to greater productivity. The editors are Professor Mackinnon and Miss E. C. Carmichael, and the first number contained articles by English, Irish, and Continental scholars, as well as by the Gaels of Scotland, who are likely hereafter to be the chief contributors. The programme of the review provides for essays and notes upon all subjects of Celtic interest, philological, literary, or historical, and we judge from the first two numbers that popular articles will be admitted as well as those which are severely scientific. An important part of the work will be the publication of inedited Gaelic manuscripts, of which many are preserved in Scotland; and Professor Mackinnon has begun with an edition of the story of Deirdre from the Glenmasan Manuscript in the Advocates' Library.

—*Eriu* is edited by Profs. Kuno Meyer and John Strachan, the directors of the newly established School of Irish Learning in Dublin. They also announce as one of their chief objects the publication of texts, and it is hoped that the Dublin school will train a good number of competent editors. The Irish libraries (particularly those of Trinity College and of the Royal Irish Academy) possess a great quantity of manuscript material in the Irish language, and much of this is not only inedited, but very imperfectly catalogued. A group of young scholars working every summer under the direction of such expert Celts as Professors Meyer and Strachan ought to be able to make rapid inroads on these collections, and to render thereby considerable service to both literary and historical studies. The work of the school, as we understand it, will bear somewhat the same relation to regular university teaching in Celtic that the work of the archaeological schools in Athens and Rome bears to the classical instruction of the universities. The directors, who are themselves professors in English universities, do not undertake to supply the entire training of a Celtic philologist, though they offer vacation courses in Irish grammar and literature. But while they do not duplicate the work of the universities, they supplement it most effectively by placing the materials of research in the hands of men already possessed of some special knowledge and training, and by guiding them in their investigations. Students of this sort will be able to make best use of the opportunities offered by the School. At the same time the directors mean to bring together native Irish speakers, and turn their knowledge to account. Some of these can be trained to become competent copyists or editors of modern manuscripts, and others will undoubtedly be encouraged to acquire the more complete equipment of the philologist. The School has already selected one man of spe-

cial promise, and sent him to study on the Continent. The friendly coöperation of trained scholars with native speakers is one of the best features of the undertaking. In view of this and of the abundant material for research accessible in Dublin, the new foundation ought to prove an important event in the history of Celtic studies. The first number of *Eriu* is of a character to confirm our hopes and strengthen our interest in the School. It contains a series of excellent articles (chiefly editions of texts), contributed by both directors and students, and representing all the periods of Irish literature. We may add, also, that it was to meet the exigencies of instruction in the School that Professor Strachan recently published his 'Selections from the Old Irish Glosses,' the only Old Irish reading-book at all adequate to the present needs of students beginning the subject.

LANG'S HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

A History of Scotland from the Roman Occupation. By Andrew Lang. Vol. III. London: William Blackwood & Sons; New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. 1904.

This History of Scotland is an interesting illustration of the change that has come over the manner of writing history—an illustration the more interesting in respect of the character and gifts of the author of the book. Mr. Andrew Lang is a literary man of high, and deservedly high, reputation. He is a poet, whose verses have indeed been few, but have been good, with the true spirit and touch of poetry in them. He has also written an historical romance, and has in his more elaborate treatises on myths and folk-lore shown himself a scholar and inquirer of a high order. No man might have been deemed more likely to write history in a romantic spirit, to tell his tale with dramatic skill, to lavish upon the striking situations and brilliant personalities which Scottish history presents all the resources of his literary art. But the tendencies of our time have been too much for him. His labor has been given to the collation of authorities and the ascertainment of facts. He marshals and examines the divergent or contradictory statements of contemporary writers; he engages in arguments with other recent historians; he seems to take no pains to please the reader by any highly finished passages either of picturesque description or of philosophical reflection. Indeed, he takes little or no thought about style, but simply jots down the facts in a succession of short sentences. He is sometimes arid and precise enough to satisfy the soul of a German Dryasdust, or of the Cambridge professor who maintained that history, if it was to be good, must begin by being dull. The modern passion for scrutinizing all the sources and presenting their results in the most plain and summary fashion has seized and carried away this accomplished man of letters.

For the pains he has taken, the utmost credit is due to him. Whether he is always, or even usually, right or not, no one can pronounce without following his steps through the dreary labyrinth of the often obscure and almost always prejudiced and partisan authorities whom he quotes. With his general views of the period many students will not agree. We personally think him quite wrong, though we cannot argue

the matter within the limits of an article. But all must recognize his diligence and his acuteness. He loves a riddle, and throws himself eagerly into the effort to solve it. Though in this volume he encounters no mysteries quite so perplexing as the Gowrie conspiracy or as some episodes in the life of Queen Mary of Scotland, there are here, too, some problems, such as the so-called Incident that befel Charles I., worthy of his labors and his ingenuity; and he has thrown a light upon them from which every successor will draw benefit.

The chief blemish of the book is the spirit in which it is written. A contemporary historian is almost inevitably influenced by the sentiments of his sect or his party, or by his personal likings and aversions. No one expects impartiality from such writers as Clarendon or Burnet. Mr. Bancroft did not attain it; still less did the earlier historians of the American Revolution. Mr. Lecky, who was eminently fair when he dealt with the history of Ireland in the seventeenth century, became a partisan when he touched the nineteenth. We might have expected Mr. Lang, in dealing with men and events that lie two centuries and a half behind him, to show that calmness and detachment which beset the philosophic historian. But he writes about the Presbyterians of Scotland in the days of the Stuart kings with an unceasing bitterness which becomes positively wearisome. This volume is one long-drawn-out gibe or sneer at their folly or their hypocrisy; the clergy being, of course, the chief victims of his satire. Let us for the sake of argument assume them to have been stupid, ignorant, cruel, arrogant, bigoted; their Covenant to have been, as Mr. Lang represents it, a grotesque conceit; their political notions fit for Bedlam; and if this be so, let Mr. Lang say it once for all, and thereafter consider it to be taken as part of the situation. It is the iteration and reiteration of petty pin-pricks, the unending process of that sort of scolding which is called in Scotland "girding," the constant ironical use of phrases like "the godly," "the pious," etc., that fatigue a reader who may or may not deem the objects of Mr. Lang's sarcastic flinging to be just as unwise as Mr. Lang does, but who realizes that as nearly all men in the seventeenth century had notions about politics and religion entirely unlike ours, there is no use in perpetually insisting on the absurd results of those notions. One of the consequences of this way of treating the leaders and the ideas of the time is that we lose the perspective of events and tendencies, and are helped but little to understand what was really passing.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries other people as well as the Covenanters did strong things, inconsistent with their Christian professions. A Pope gave thanks for the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Good men conspired to murder the enemies of their Church. But Ranke does not think it necessary to be always reminding his readers that the conduct of the Popes was not quite what we should now expect from the Vicar of Christ. In one place (p. 285) Mr. Lang says, "We must try to display the serene calm of history." He seems, however, to have been goaded out of that serene calm by reading one or two recent Scotch books in which the Covenanters have apparently been

depicted as patriots and martyrs; and, in seeking to redress the balance, he forgets to give us that fair and penetrating view of the whole position, and of the circumstances which drove to excesses a people not specially fierce or fantastic, which we look for from a writer of his knowledge and his capacity.

However treated, the history of Scotland for nearly a century after her native king went to reside in the far larger and wealthier realm which passed to the Stuarts on the death of Elizabeth, is a dismal story. Had the King stayed at home, he would probably either have been deposed, or been forced to comply with the dominant sentiment of the nation in ecclesiastical affairs. Trying to coerce Scotland from his position of power in England, he provoked a civil war there; that civil war accelerated the outbreak of another civil war in England. Scotland was herself in the end conquered by an English army under Cromwell, and, after a brief lull in the storm, the Restoration of Charles II. opened another period of bloodshed, oppression and cruelty which ended only after another civil war, with the establishment of the Presbyterian system under William and Mary. In this dreary tale Mr. Lang finds only one noble figure, only one character standing out from the general folly or turpitude, the figure of Montrose. The best parts of his book, and certainly the most readable, are those which describe the campaigns of that brilliant leader. If we cannot go so far as Mr. Lang does when he calls the burial-place of Montrose in St. Giles's Church (in Edinburgh) "the most sacred spot in Scotland," we can admire the chivalric spirit of the great Marquis, his energy and resource in war, the courage that sent him to his death in the cause of a faithless and contemptible prince. He shows to great advantage by the side of the time-serving and selfish Argyll, and indeed of nearly all the Scottish nobles of that generation. They were not as ferocious as had been their grandfathers in the days of James the Fifth and Mary, but they were almost as tricky and unstable. Yet lovingly as Mr. Lang dwells on the military exploits of his hero, he does not make Montrose as living and real a figure as we had hoped he would. A more definite impression is conveyed to us of Lauderdale and of Sharp, the Presbyterian minister who became archbishop of St. Andrews, and, having incurred the wrath of the extreme Covenanters by what they deemed his apostasy as well as by the severities which he bore a part in inflicting, was murdered on the Magus Moor, in Fife-shire. Cromwell moves across the scene, but little is said of him, and nothing of the other Englishmen who came into the story. It is a pity that Mr. Lang does not keep his readers better informed of what was passing in England from 1638 to 1651; he seems to assume that they are carrying it all in their minds. This no doubt they ought to do, but it would be convenient to them to have the main facts given, if only in an occasional note.

Scotland produced no first-rate statesman or leader of the people during all this troublous time, hardly even any man high in the second rank. She had not only no Cromwell, but no Hampden and no Pym. This may be set down to chance; there was no

man in the French Revolution big enough for the events till one came from Corsica. Yet perhaps it is not merely chance. We feel through all these civil debatings and ecclesiastical wranglings, breaking out ever and anon into wars, the want of that kind of solid common sense and public spirit and reasonable view of things which show themselves in England even in her most distracted days. Was this due to some inferiority in the Scottish character, to a hotter sort of passion, to a tendency to look at things "in the abstract"? Or can it be ascribed to the difference in the social and economic conditions of the two countries, and to the absence in Scotland of that long experience of political life which the English had? Ever since Henry the Third's time, they had been accustomed to work a Constitution—a Constitution loose, no doubt, according to modern ideas, but still a Constitution which had its rules and its maxims. They had long known and prized their Parliament, a Parliament which had come scathless through civil wars in the fifteenth century and a kingly power that was almost despotic in the sixteenth. They knew what politics meant, and they did not let religion swallow up politics, even when they were most furious against the Pope, or when the soil was seething with new and strange sects—Anabaptists, Brownists, Quakers. Scotland had never had any such regularly working Constitutional assembly. She had been the prey of incessant disorders. She was really as far behind England in the political side of civilization as she was in wealth and the comforts of life. The Scotch had already shown, since the days of Alexander of Hailes and Duns the Scot, that there was no lack of intelligence among them; but they were among the least known and least regarded of European peoples, and no one could predict the place which, small as they were, they would ultimately win.

The distemper of religious passion had been raging all over Europe for a century when the Scots raised the standard of the Covenant in 1638—that standard round which the two factions fought till Presbyterianism, if not the Covenant, finally triumphed, after fifty more years of bloodshed, in 1689. Scotland was only one of many countries that suffered from it, and some of the other countries carry their scars to this day. But Scotland was the only country in which the idea that the nation as a whole must legally pledge and bind itself to God, after the fashion of the bond which united Israel to Jehovah in the Old Testament, came to dominate men's minds and become the centre of controversy. Why this happened is a curious problem which Mr. Lang has still an opportunity in his concluding volume of endeavoring to solve. He shows himself so well read in Covenanting literature that he doubtless possesses the materials, if he will try to handle them with a little sympathy, for helping us to a solution. With his exceptional gifts he will, it is to be hoped, give us, before his narrative comes to a close, a philosophic study of the forces that were at work through Scotch history, together with a fuller account of the social phenomena of Scotch life, and the part played by the classes that stood below these mostly repulsive nobles who fill the foreground of big pictures. No one should know better

than he does how to extract a gleam of humor from the dismal record of raids and skirmishings, and intrigues, and abominable yet futile persecutions which makes up the greater part of the history of this seventeenth century in Scotland. But the gloom of the time is too much for him. We have now and then a touch of fun in watching the tergiversations of such men as the elder Argyll and Atholl, now and then a happy quotation, like that of the Scotch proverb, which he applies to the Remonstrants, that some men are "kittle to shoe behind." But these do little to relieve the sombre monotony. Our author is too much occupied in pouring out the vials of his wrath upon the sectaries whom he dislikes, and in showing that every atrocity committed upon Presbyterians had its justification, or palliation, in some other atrocity committed by Presbyterians upon Roman Catholics or Episcopilians, that he gives us far less entertainment than might have been expected from such a pen as his.

One curious moral stands out from the whole story. If Mr. Lang is right, every one in Scotland was either a persecutor or persecuted. Nobody would even tolerate his opponent, much less allow that his opponent might possibly have some glimmer or fragment of the truth. It was left for the English Cromwell to say, in his letter to the Commission of the General Assembly in August, 1650 (p. 233): "Is it therefore infallibly agreeable to the Word of God, all that you say? I beseech you in the bowels of Christ, think it possible that you may be mistaken." Yet the doctrine of full and absolute liberty of conscience, dimly hinted at by one or two stray thinkers in the Middle Ages, had already been proclaimed in England, and, in the very year when the Covenant was adopted by the people of Scotland as the basis of its national existence, that doctrine had been made by Roger Williams the foundation of his colony at Providence, which has grown into the State of Rhode Island. Like other peoples before and since, the Scotch fell under the dominion of the Old Testament so much as to forget the New. Their faith brought them not peace, but a sword. "Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum" might be the motto for the history of the Scottish Reformation in this century.

THE FIRST JAPANESE CAMPAIGN.

With Kuroki in Manchuria. By Frederick Palmer. Illustrated from photographs by James H. Hare. Scribners. 1904.

This first of the Manchurian war books is likely to be excelled in no vital quality by any part of the library yet to come. The author went to Japan, from Japan to Korea, and thence into what was Russian Manchuria, with a cosmopolitan experience in the observation of warfare that compelled him to write to the point. Accordingly he wastes no time upon himself; he ignores, except as they illustrate conditions in the field, the discomforts and trials that civilians attached to a marching army must undergo, and he describes public not private affairs. A civilized island race, transformed from fighting with swords and bows to fighting with small-bore rifles and battleships, and impelled to acquire room on the mainland for its congested population, is, nearly in Mr. Palmer's words, one factor

of the situation that presented itself. Korea as a geographical dagger pointed at the heart of Japan with a foreign hand upon the hilt—Yamagata's view of the situation—is the other. So the Japanese contention is plausible, that this is a war of defence in anticipation of invasion, an imperative effort to delay if not to terminate the "glacial approach" of Russia, whose uncontrolled possession of the seaboard would not only practically blockade the islanders, but would be a constant menace to the integrity of their empire. However, the book is a narrative of facts, not a discussion of statesmanship.

An excellent example of even-tempered intelligence is the recognition of the problem that the foreign press presented. More disastrous than the South African plague of flies and women, which only tormented the disabled, the budget of a prying newsgatherer, once opened to the world-pervading telegraph, might readily prove a Pandora's box to too obliging hosts. The unwelcome company of journalists, so easy to become more than a risk, a positive although undesigned danger, appears to have been the only contingency unanticipated in this prearranged war of precision. Japan had forgotten that wheresoever the carcass is, there will the eagles be gathered together. But upon their arrival the authorities did not hesitate to do what American, and doubtless European, generals have often prayed might be done. Better than a censorship of the pen, although presumably combined with it, they restrained the writers themselves until the armies were well under way, and afterwards held them in a careful leash. It was Japan's war, and Japan could afford to expose no part of her plan for the gratification of curious or sensation-loving foreigners. Mr. Palmer appreciates this at its full value, and it has not prevented his giving interesting and instructive views of the wonderful conflict without those querulous complaints that have been heard elsewhere. He recognizes that an army fighting for its country has another mission than to furnish "copy." But "the contention that a modern army cannot keep its secrets and have correspondents in the field, has been made ridiculous by the Japanese success in this respect. It can never be used again to excuse military incompetency." However, that these correspondents were engulfed in the sea of an unknown tongue has greatly assisted in maintaining that secrecy.

What impressed the author among the conditions that he has succeeded in placing before the reader, was not merely the tactical skill of the Japanese in taking up offensive positions and deceiving the Russians as to their probable points of attack, but the ingenuity with which every man not necessarily in view and every gun were masked. There was no bravado nor spectacular play, no revelation before the time. But when the hour struck, the blow fell. At the crossing of the Yalu, the breaking out of the infantry from behind their natural ramparts and the batteries from their artificial screens reminds one of the manifestation of a Virgilian deity, in the good old days of *Aeneas*, from its nimbus, its pillar of cloud. This unmasking was of Mars himself. In the immediate presence of the enemy, these fighting furies did not hesitate to conceal themselves before the combat, nor with infinite pains to

extemporize from cornstalks and shrubbery effective "covered ways" to veil from hostile observation the passers-by, whether coolies or cannon. But, once in motion, they persevered. When Ord led the Army of the James from Farmville to bar the way of Lee, fleeing before the Army of the Potomac, he stimulated his men by a series of little roadside speeches, insisting that if they would only maintain their gait they surely would win; that good marching would terminate the war. And legs won, for the presence of that infantry across the Lynchburg road made Appomattox what it was. Jackson's "foot-cavalry," sometimes overrated it may be, but, despite its stragglers, extraordinarily effective, gave another illustration of the efficiency of vigorous infantry, properly handled. It is so also in the East. After the Yalu was forced, when an average army, having accomplished its immediate object by severe and prolonged effort, might have sat down, this army pursued. It justified the prophecy of one of its officers, that the mobility of the infantry would be used to offset that of the Cossacks, and "these little men, who had been ceaselessly at work for thirty-six hours, were only beginning the day. . . . [The advance] followed up its advantage with stubborn persistence." This persistence resulted in the capture of 1,000 prisoners, besides twenty-one field-guns, six Maxim's, and small arms and transportation in proportion. The Russian casualties, other than the prisoners, were as two to one as compared with those of their assailants. All this occurred at Hamatan, miles away, where the vigorous pursuit overtook the sluggish retreat. This consecutive vigor augmented the victory. The Russians were immeasurably outnumbered from the first, but through sheer folly they suffered these losses. They invited the disaster by turning, without preparation therefor, an action that at best could have been only one of delay into a formal battle, with no more regard for lines of retreat than was the boast of a general in our civil war. Mr. Palmer philosophically accounts for their behavior by combining the contempt of a white for a yellow man with the character of the Siberian troops engaged, and the condition of the old commanders, inactive over their samovars, through eons of peace.

Much acute observation and sensible comment is met with in these pages. Especially interesting is the contrast between the Chinese and the Japanese national character. The Chinaman, intensely attached to his family and beyond it to his clan, seems incapable of appreciating the claims of country. For instance, although not mentioned here, in the war of 1894 the Chinese fleet at the mouth of the Yang-tse positively declined to coöperate with the fleet in Korea Bay, not from affirmative disloyalty, but because the admiral failed to recognize any reason why he should embroil his squadron with the happenings at the north. At the same time, the individual Chinaman has a most satisfactory contempt for death when the motive for exposure appeals to him. That motive is usually pecuniary. The Japanese burns with martial ardor, whose inspiration is the identity that he maintains with the Mikado as the real father of his people, and hence with the whole nation as of the same family; and in their defiance or aggrandizement he

sacrifices everything. Thus, the humblest bearer, ineligible for military honors and beyond the possible range of personal praise, receiving the merest pittance and condemned to constant drudgery, serves the military host with an industry and a spirit that leave nothing to be required, all because of this essential patriotism.

Those who have seen an army in the field will be filled with admiration for the man in the ranks, the short, stocky "butcher," not the scraggy-necked, long-legged "pole," who bears his forty pounds to the end of his day's march and remains in line. Judging by the illustrations, he carries the old type of knapsack, which progressive officers have so long attempted to discard, "the monkey on the back" that breaks down the average soldier, that crushes the ordinary recruit. But Nippon Denji, the Man of Japan, whom Mr. Palmer apostrophizes from time to time, comes through, knapsack and all, without delay, and, best to know, without straggling. The marches, shorter than those over the superb roads of Europe, are the tireless advance of the whole body, exactly as the system of precision foreordains. This war has demonstrated not only the possibilities of machine-like movements, but at least two conditions for soldiers to remember. It has shown that the bayonet (which seems to be a sword-bayonet and not a sharpened steel rammer) is not obsolete, and that night attacks, not merely surprises at dawn, are again fashionable and convincing.

It is fascinating, this collection of field letters; and chapter nineteen alone, because it was written by a man who had other standards for comparison, is worth cords of the grumbling of the correspondent who finds the little yellow man to differ from the Seventh New York, let us say, and therefore thinks ill of him; and is better than clouds of incense from the enthusiast who praises the successful soldier because he is successful, he knows not why. The chapters on the campaign against Liao-yang—the book closes there—are an admirable popular exposition of active war, where audacity counts as well as the more formal rules of the game.

The only observed blemish that a subsequent edition might omit is the statement, which is repeated, that in his youth Marquis Ito cut off his queue when he went abroad surreptitiously. In those days the Japanese did dress their hair with a sort of top-knot, but it was not a flowing queue à la Chinoise, as might be inferred. Some other designation for the style had better be used, less likely to lead the unwary to imagine that the Manchurian badge of conquest had once been naturalized in the Land of Sunrise. And then, when one finds "different to" (p. 141), he is almost deceived into taking the writer to be imported. One had rather retain him without such disguise. That such a war should come is lamentable; having come, this truthful and vivid portrayal is delightful.

THE STANDARD OIL COMPANY.

The History of the Standard Oil Company.
By Ida M. Tarbell. 2 vols. McClure, Phillips & Co. 1904.

Few luxuries are greater than to give way to righteous indignation, and the prosperity of the wicked has from the days of

Job afforded the chief opportunity for this indulgence. We are all secretly conscious that our merits are not fully appreciated, nor our deserts properly rewarded, and we are only too ready to believe that great success is attained by evil means. The man who has to support a family on a dollar a day thinks it unjust that his employer should have ten dollars, and his employer is quite sure that no one can honestly earn a hundred. When it comes to incomes of a thousand dollars a day, the condemnation becomes general, and the richest man in the country is the object of universal execration.

This book seems to have been written for the purpose of intensifying the popular hatred. The writer has either a vague conception of the nature of proof, or she is willing to blacken the character of Mr. John D. Rockefeller by insinuation and detraction. She undoubtedly knows her public, and it is unfortunate, from the dramatic point of view, that Mr. Rockefeller has been caught in no worse crimes than underselling his competitors and getting rebates from railroads. When we come to look into the matter, we find that the directors of the Standard Oil Company did not, as is commonly believed, conspire to blow up a rival oil refinery in Buffalo. But this does not discourage our author. A still did explode, or come near it, and there was a trial on a charge of conspiracy. A whole chapter is devoted to this episode, on the ground that it illustrates the evil results of "the Standard policy of making it hard for a rival to do business," and shows the judgment to be expected from a hostile public. The public "read into the Buffalo case deliberate arson." It refused to admit that there was no evidence of the guilt of the Standard Oil directors, "but demanded that they be convicted on presumption." The inference to be drawn from this chapter by the ordinary reader is that, while Mr. Rockefeller perhaps did not personally blow up the still—it is not clear that any one tried to—he would probably not have grieved had the attempt been successful if it had been made; and that he is at all events no better than he should be.

His depravity appears again in a transaction with a widow whose husband had left her a refinery in Cleveland. This property the widow had offered for sale to another party at a price considerably less than Mr. Rockefeller paid for it two years later, which price Mr. Rockefeller avers was 50 per cent. more than the property was worth. He states, indeed, that the works for which he paid \$60,000 could have been replaced for \$20,000. He avers further that when the widow told him that she was afraid of the future, and especially that she could not get cars enough to transport her oil, he offered to lend her his cars, or do anything else in reason to assist her. As she still wished to sell, Mr. Rockefeller's agents attended to the transaction. It is asserted by the seller that Mr. Rockefeller had told her that she might retain some of the stock in the company, a promise repudiated by his agents. The widow wrote to him at once in complaint, and the day after he received the letter Mr. Rockefeller replied, to the effect that he had understood her to prefer to receive the whole price in money, but that if she wished stock she could have it, or that he would, if she

chose, return the property. When this offer was received, the seller declares that she had made such arrangements that she could not conveniently accept it, and indignantly threw the letter containing it into the fire. This transaction is represented by Miss Tarbell as taking a deep hold on the public sympathy, and as contributing to make the superstitious fear of resistance to Mr. Rockefeller almost insuperable. It is undoubtedly true, Miss Tarbell concedes, that this widow was not obliged to sell out; nevertheless, "she gave up her business to avoid ruin."

It is a matter of public notoriety that Mr. Rockefeller is offensively reticent. The most enterprising reporters cannot induce him to talk, and his perversity is so well known that the most unscrupulous do not dare to invent "interviews." Miss Tarbell complains of this exasperating taciturnity, although she tells us that the officers of the Standard Oil Company have offered her every assistance and discussed every episode in its history with her; but she has hit upon a simple and ingenious method of defeating its odious purpose. It is only necessary to attribute certain cruel and hateful intentions and sentiments to Mr. Rockefeller, and then to express them between quotation marks. This imparts crispness to style, and the ordinary reader may be trusted to be careless enough, or prejudiced enough, to carry away the impression that he has heard the monster's *ipsissima verba*. But a careful study of the records made by any one who is able to distinguish assertion from fact, does not make it clear that Mr. Rockefeller ruined all his competitors. He seems to have usually bought them out, representing that they were in danger of being beaten in the race, and to have advised them to become partners in his concern. The Standard Oil Company, like the railroad companies, has exercised a kind of eminent domain. In order to systematize a business conducted with frightful waste, property was condemned; but the owners received compensation.

Another rhetorical device is personification. In impassioned, if turgid, language, a desperate struggle is described between the powers of evil incarnate in the Standard Oil Company and the powers of goodness appearing in a metaphysical entity called the "Oil Region." This being, it appears, loved virtue for its own sake; it believed in independence and fair play; it hated rebates and secret rates; it hated, but it also feared, its adversary. Very eloquent appeals for our sympathy with this generous being are made; but when we descend to the concrete our feeling cools. The "Oil Region" means a number of men engaged in the wildest kind of speculation, many of whom proved themselves willing to engage in every kind of wickedness of which the Standard Oil Company was accused. They conspired with one another and with the adversary. They accepted secret rates and rebates when they could get them; they sold out; they limited production, they put up prices by combination, they destroyed the property of their rivals, they violated their agreements; and all these sins are attributed to them by Miss Tarbell herself. She tells us of a man who confessed that he had been stealing oil for two years from the Standard Company, and who was found innocent by a jury, the verdict being approved by the Oil Region. The blame for

this apparent lapse from virtue is laid upon the victim of the theft. The hideous mien of the monster had been seen too oft; the iniquity of the Standard Oil Company was contagious; and the Oil Region might say, like the French deputy to his constituents, "So intense was the corruption that even I did not altogether escape."

Men who can remember the discovery of petroleum will smile at the suggestion that the early producers and refiners were of different stuff from what is to be found now in a mining camp. Miss Tarbell tells us that they counted on profits of 100 per cent, and had no conception of economical production. They spent their profits as fast as they got them, and when the price of oil fell they denounced every one but themselves. The managers of the Standard Company seldom made such profits; they certainly did not spend them. They paid moderate dividends, and put their surplus earnings into their property. They displayed very great skill in carrying on their business, and it is by no means incredible that their good management resulted in economies that were equivalent to a large profit. One of the best chapters in the book is that on the legitimate greatness of the Company; and, although the particulars are inadequately given, enough is told to show that ordinary competitors could not possibly have succeeded even if their great rival had been indifferent. Yet it is true that there are and always have been independent refineries and pipe-lines. Miss Tarbell accuses the Standard Oil Company of many odious practices in the way of underselling and espionage. That such practices are odious is true; but competition is necessarily odious. Competition means that A will try to sell to B's customers, and B to A's, and the only escape from conflict is in combination. It is absurd to represent "Standard Oil methods" as peculiar.

In one sense this book is a history. It tells us profusely what was said, what was believed, what was suspected, what was charged. It repeats to a tedious extent and adopts slurs, insinuations, slanders—possibly, sometimes perjuries. But as to what was done, the record is imperfect. The great matter involved was the transportation of oil. The managers of the great railroads, in the seventies, were engaged in desperate competition. They apparently lied to one another and to their customers. They broke their agreements and granted all sorts of rebates in order to get business and to keep it from being diverted from them. Deplorable as it was, the managers of the Standard Oil Company were compelled to fight the devil with fire. If they had not obtained special rates, they would have seen their business pass into the hands of rivals who were less scrupulous. A vast mine of wealth was suddenly disclosed, great fortunes were to be made, and it was a question who should make them. Had the men who made the Standard Company never existed, other men would have done what they did, with perhaps equal gain to themselves and perhaps less gain to the consumers. It was a condition and not a theory that confronted the oil refiners, and they met the condition as best they could.

The theory of rates on which Miss Tarbell bases her denunciation is altogether untenable. She labors under the impression that rates are equal, just, and fair, only

when the charge for carrying a barrel of oil is the same proportionately as that for a carload or a trainload. She tells us that in 1872 Mr. Rockefeller shipped daily from Cleveland to New York sixty carloads of oil. By moving these cars in solid trains, the time for a round trip was reduced from thirty days to ten days, the number of cars needed was reduced from 1,800 to 600, and the investment in cars from \$900,000 to \$300,000. To charge the same price for transportation which costs less is not to maintain equal rates; it is to discriminate in favor of small shipments, to furnish a service which costs more at the same price as one that costs less. Until this truth can be beaten into the heads of the public, the various nostrums which are presented to Congress will continue to embarrass the country, and to arouse expectations that will surely be disappointed. To determine the actual cost of carrying any commodity is literally impossible; to define precisely what rates are "equal" is beyond human capacity; and to fix rates from Chicago to New York and Philadelphia that will be accepted as fair by both cities and the rest of the country, can be done neither by the Interstate Commission nor by all the courts that now exist or can be hereafter constituted.

We have dealt with this book at length, not because it is to be taken as serious history, or because Mr. Rockefeller and his associates are in want of sympathy, but because it is desirable to protest against attempts to treat grave problems sensationalistically. To stir up envy, to arouse prejudice, to inflame passion, to appeal to ignorance, to magnify evils, to charge corruption—these seem to be the methods in favor with too many of the writers who profess a desire to reform society. They will not accomplish reform in this way, but they may conceivably bring on revolution. They are doing their best to stir up hatred and to excite bitter feeling. They propose to educate the people by unfitting them for calm judgment and rational inquiry. We need reforms badly enough, but we shall not get them until we have an electorate able to control its passions, to reserve its condemnation, to deliberate before it acts. When that time comes, a railing accusation will not be accepted as history.

George Canning. By W. Alison Phillips. E. P. Dutton & Co.

The most striking feature of this short biography is the passage with which it closes. Mr. Phillips admires sufficiently the imposing presence, the personal force, the wit, the eloquence of Canning, and admits that his ambition was of the noble sort. But none the less he declines to join in the unstinted praise which was poured upon their lost leader by the Tories of 1827.

"That he did a great and necessary work for England," says Mr. Phillips, "is true enough, . . . yet what has been said of Metternich seems to be true also of him: that he was less skilful in discerning the direction and force of the great undercurrent of human affairs, than in dealing with those phenomena which from time to time appeared on the surface. His great speeches on Reform, so impressive when delivered, form curious reading now. The 'will of the people' has long been expressed in Parliament; yet who will say that Edward VII. is less firmly seated on the throne than George IV.? Or who will affirm that the

House of Lords is impotent to stem the violent onrush of democratic legislation?"

Even the foreign policy of Canning, which has been so generally extolled, Mr. Phillips will not admit to have been suggested by the highest wisdom, despite its effect in raising England from the fifth place among European nations to the position of umpire. And here he seizes for his crucial point upon Canning's favorite principle of nationality:

"The Grand Alliance had been established in the interests of peace; Canning proclaimed that the interests of peace would be best served by studying the rights of nationalities. Yet the clamor of nationalities for their rights has been since, and will yet be, the most fruitful cause of bloodshed; and in our own day, as the direct outcome of the principle which Canning championed, we have the nations of Europe weighed down under the crushing burden of an 'armed peace' almost as intolerable as war."

When one has read these two passages he has grasped Mr. Phillips's attitude toward the subject of his sketch, for it is upon the concluding years of Canning's life that his reputation rests rather than upon his term of service under Pitt or upon his first tenure of the Foreign Office. For ourselves we must confess to having a higher opinion of Canning than that which Mr. Phillips seems to hold. His speech on Reform we should be inclined to call interesting, not curious, reading; and it may be doubted whether at the present moment he would not accept the attitude of the late Mr. Lecky. That Canning was not the man to modify his views under education as Sir Robert Peel did, is clear, but there is little about his principles or his expression of them which seems more "curious" now than in his own day. As to his foreign policy, Canning recognized in nationality the strongest of all political forces—stronger, if a comparison were forced, than democracy—and it is at least an open question if his forecast was not justified. Of course the "armed peace" is expensive, but then countries like Germany and Italy get something for it—more, certainly, than they got without a national organization between the Congress of Vienna and 1848.

Controversy, however, should play a small part in our notice of this excellent little book. The Canning of a precocious boyhood and *Anti-Jacobin* wit will ever remain a bright figure in British politics and literature. Mr. Phillips gives us some of the stories about his youth, but there are others which he has not seen fit to include. Prominent among these is the jest which was circulated at Canning's expense when he entered Parliament under the auspices of Pitt. At Oxford his debating powers had made him known even to Sheridan and Fox. Accordingly, when he came to London he was introduced at Devonshire House and made free of Whig society as a prospective ally. But Pitt stole a march upon his opponents by offering Canning a seat in Parliament at the age of twenty-three. Apparently no undertaking of support had been given to Fox, and Canning accepted Pitt's advances; whereupon the young member of Parliament was greeted with the following jest, which is a compliment to his talents while a slur on his consistency:

"Turning one's coat so common is grown
That no one would think to attack it.
But never till now was an instance known
Of a schoolboy turning his jacket."

Mr. Phillips gives a good account of Can-

ning's connection with the *Anti-Jacobin*, and quotes in complete form some of its most sparkling verses; for example, "The Needy Knifegrinder" and "Mrs. Brownrigg," besides giving a typical excerpt from the "New Morality." To one of Canning's most famous poems, however, no allusion is made. We refer to the eloquent verses on "The Pilot Who Weathered the Storm"—lines wherein Canning's devotion to Pitt shines forth more clearly than in any other of his utterances. By way of compensation for this omission, Mr. Phillips cites with admirable comment the "Lines addressed to Miss Scott before Marriage," which deserve to be widely known, both from their intrinsic merit and from the light they throw on Canning's character.

Among the political questions which are taken up, the attitude of Canning towards the Holy Alliance receives fuller and more interesting notice than any other. Incidentally Mr. Phillips shows by reference to official correspondence that Castlereagh was not so docile a follower of the Tsar as he is frequently supposed to have been. For example, Castlereagh resented equally with Canning the remarkable claim contained in the protocol of Troppau which would have given the Alliance a right to regulate the domestic affairs of states in addition to supervising their foreign relations. What stand Castlereagh would have taken had he been alive when the Duc d'Angoulême entered Spain to restore Bourbon absolutism, can only be conjectured, but the tragedy which removed him from the Foreign Office and opened a way for Canning placed the latter in office at a time of crisis, and thrust upon him the necessity of defining England's relations towards the Powers of Europe. First of all he was determined that no symptom of rebellion in Ireland or other issue of prime importance to England should be made an excuse for foreign intervention in British affairs. When the royalist *Etoile* instanced the disturbed condition of Ireland as a menace to European peace, Canning was ready to declare his position quite frankly. "Naples, Piedmont, Spain, Ireland! Who shall draw the line if the principle of the 'European question' be once admitted?" His defence of independent nationalities against the confederation idea had its solid cornerstone in his resolve that neither Alexander, Metternich, nor the Comte d'Artois should have the least excuse for interfering with England.

Canning's part in the war of Greek independence and his share in the evolution of the Monroe Doctrine are treated by Mr. Phillips at adequate length, although he does not attempt to add fresh information at either of these points. Another large subject which he is able to touch upon only slightly, is Canning's support of Huskisson, when the state of the country clearly demanded a reduction of the corn duty; but Canning's attitude toward this issue as well as towards Catholic Emancipation is well understood, and requires less explanation than is demanded by the development of his views on foreign policy. Mr. Phillips has managed to say a great deal in a brief compass, and this volume will add to the reputation which he gained by his book on "Modern Europe."

Abraham Lincoln By Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer, Ph.D., author of "Robert Morris, Patriot and Financier," "The Referendum in America," etc. (American Crisis Biographies.) Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs & Co.

The publishers of this series pledge their consecutive writers to an unhistorical and radically false interpretation of the civil war: "The civil war will not be treated as a rebellion." Examining a list of the intended writers, we find ourselves wondering how many of the nineteen announced will be able to stretch themselves comfortably on this Procrustean bed. It has seemed to Dr. Oberholtzer "that there is lack of a readable, compact life of Lincoln by one who never saw him." But this lack was already met by Mr. Hapgood, whose book was quite as compact as Dr. Oberholtzer's, and more readable, more literary, and less journalistic, as keen upon the scent of Lincoln's faults, but with a livelier appreciation of the man's essential worth. The only exigency to which this book responds is, of course, the need of a Lincoln volume in a series which, without one, would be manifestly incomplete.

Dr. Oberholtzer writes clearly and forcibly for the most part, but with an occasional verbal arrangement that makes his meaning hard to understand. For example (p. 16):

"His wanton assassination, at a time of public excitement, raised up eulogists on every hand, and years of graceless nonentity as an ex-President saved him from semi-oblivion and the possible detraction growing out of later movements, which sometimes neutralize the impression created by the most brilliant career."

To guess what was intended here may not be difficult, but the expression could not be lazier than it is. If Dr. Oberholtzer says what he desires to say in the following sentence, his syntax is less at fault than his intelligence:

"The loyalty of the Southern women, which has not been surpassed by anything ever recorded of the women of France, must be held to have been largely due to the well-grounded impression that the Republicans were advocates of a civilization which would result eventually in the predominance in America of a mulatto race."

The first sentence of this Life characterizes the civil war as "a trial of the fundamental nature of the Union for the sake of the black slave." This is to put the cart and horse where they belong. It recognizes that the saving of the Union was not the ultimate end or inspiration of the war. But Dr. Oberholtzer does not keep a steady keel upon his anti-slavery course throughout his book. To change the figure, he runs with the hare and hunts with the hounds. He depreciates the force of Lincoln's earlier anti-slavery sentiment, at the same time blaming his slow awakening and praising his affront of the more radical anti-slavery party. Against the abolitionists he habitually sharpens his countenance, but an occasional inadvertency seems to carry him over into their camp. Writing of the victories of 1863 he says:

"Those who two or three years before would have cheerfully assisted at the funerals of William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips, were coming into perfect sympathy with them, looking upon slavery as the abomination it always was and always will be, and eager enough to forget that any other view of the subject had ever been entertained."

It is an instinct with Dr. Oberholtzer to minimize all appearances of high purpose and noble ardor. Lincoln's concessions to the anti-slavery spirit he reduces to their lowest terms. "He issued his edict of freedom as a war measure and on no ethical or sentimental grounds." Certainly none that were avowed; but Lincoln had not forgotten his parable of "the divided house," and it seems not unlikely that when he grasped emancipation as a war measure he made the exigency an excuse for striking at the rebellion's inmost heart. Touching the feelings of the slaves on their emancipation, we have another minimizing view:

"Their grief at Lincoln's death more fittingly expressed the loss they would feel because of their too hasty introduction to all the responsibility of citizenship by other men when Lincoln's commanding grasp relaxed, than the regret inspired by anything he had positively done in the act of emancipation."

It is improbable that any signs of a grief so constituted ever existed beyond the pale of Dr. Oberholtzer's ingenuous imagination.

The "Bibliography" of this volume is remarkable for its inadequacy. If it had included a good biography of Garrison, there might have been clear gain in some particulars—notably on page 167, where "Garrison and the Abolitionists" figure "on the floor of Congress" denouncing slaveholders in terms more accurate than soft, and on page 169, where we read of "the Garrison-Giddings-Lovejoy-John Brown method, which contemplated the sending of emissaries among the slaves to incite them to murder and insurrection"; a mixture of incongruous names, suggestive of Carlyle's "Heaven and Hell Amalgamation Society." It is pitiful that Dr. Oberholtzer should need to be informed of what every intelligent reader of his book should know, that Garrison was absolutely opposed to John Brown's method, and to any and every attempt to stir up slave insurrection.

Dr. Oberholtzer's predilection is for such memoirs as serve the more sordid and vulgarizing conception of Lincoln's character. Herndon's, and even Lamon's, baser insinuations are sweet morsels for his tongue. The ghastly Mary Owens episode is presented baldly enough, while the Anne Rutledge story is told with grudging sympathy. The chapter on the Lincoln-Douglas debate of 1858 exhibits a judicious use of the biographer's best material. That on the nomination of 1860 is calculated to make our contemporary political methods seem tolerably respectable. The war chapters are good, and bring out the larger elements of Lincoln's character in strong relief. There are three generalized chapters, "The Slave in the War," "Lincoln the Politician," and "Lincoln the Man." The first of these makes far too little of the sincere anti-slavery spirit pushing against manifold opposition to its glorious end. In "Lincoln the Politician," there are many lines that we would gladly blot, such justification will the baser sort find in them for their crooked ways; but that Lincoln did not always pursue virtue virtuously seems to be incontrovertible. The seamy side of his personal characteristics is needlessly paraded in "Lincoln the Man," but his great powers of sympathy and tenderness are permitted to shine with splendid radiance. Dr. Oberholtzer's book will do nothing to enhance

Lincoln's fame. Those will be most grateful for it who are tired of hearing Aristides called the Just, and those who enjoy the writing down of history to the level of the more sinister and sordid manifestations of the human spirit.

The Preparation of the Child for Science.
By M. E. Boole. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: H. Frowde. 1904.

Mrs. Boole's little books, taken as a whole, have a certain unity, but their value does not lie there; and what is true of the whole is true of any one. The present volume is decidedly the best of the series thus far. Information and salutary wisdom are to be drawn from it everywhere. The very dedication informs us of a fact interesting for the history of science in England, that Sir George Everest, on his return from India about 1829, inflamed the minds of Babbage and John F. W. Herschel with "certain ideas about the nature of man's relation to Unknown Truth which underlay all science in ancient Asia, and which he had learned from Brahman teachers." It would be curious to reperuse the books that Babbage, in 1830, and Herschel, in 1831, published about the general nature of science (a subject that had long been untouched in England) in the light of this information. Certainly, they two and Everest's son-in-law, Boole, are, as mathematicians, marked by their great predilection for what are called "symbolical" methods (that is, reasoning about operations as if they were things), to which English mathematicians generally, both before that day and since, have shown a marked aversion. The preface contains brief notices of ten writers whose thought pursued paths off the main lines of intellectual traffic. Two of them, Boole and Babbage, are famous; one, Nicolas Antoine Boulanger, once was so; Père Gratry is still read; and a fifth, Ramchundra, received aid from the British Government in his mathematical researches. The others, Thomas Wedgwood (who made a study of Genius), James Hinton (author of 'Life in Nature,' etc.), Dr. Charles Winslow (author of 'Force and Nature'), "the late Dr. Wiltsire," and Benjamin Betts, never attracted much attention, but would seem to be worth some acquaintance.

The purpose of this little volume is to offer "suggestions as to means by which the scientific condition of mind can be induced" in children. The desirability of doing this is a topic distinctly excluded. In the first chapter, the scientific mind is portrayed, slightly, but with a rare fidelity to nature. "Scientific culture is the result of a steady, life-long habit of friendly and intimate, though reverent, intercourse with the Eternally Infinite Unknown." This might have been better expressed; yet, taken as it is, of many a man of science (especially of a passing generation) who might think the likeness execrable it is more true than he himself knows. "The typically scientific mind," says the authoress at the beginning of the chapter, "may be described as one which stands in a definite relation to As-Yet-Unknown Truth, and especially to that portion of As-Yet-Unknown which is just below the horizon of knowledge"; and she goes on to explain of what nature this relation is, laying much stress "upon the rhythmic alternation

of attitude" of such a mind toward phenomena.

Rudiments of all the scientific features begin to appear in the mind of every child, in one more strongly, in another less so. It is possible, however, to extirpate them. "That delicate sensitiveness to the touch of the illogical, to the limits of knowledge, and to the Presence of the As-Yet-Un-known . . . is often destroyed in the human brain by rough-and-ready processes, adopted sometimes for the purpose of fixing the opinions of young people, sometimes for that of enabling them to pass examinations successfully in subjects which they do not understand." When it first dawned upon "the advanced section of educationalists" that the rules of Latin grammar are not sufficient aliment for the mind, the first step was to substitute facts of natural science regarded as dead truth, just as the rules of grammar were regarded. Next, when it was forced upon the attention of the advanced that the scientific truth of one generation does not altogether accord with that of the next, "they substituted up-to-dateness, instead of endeavoring to induce the habit of true scientific method." Mrs. Boole herself embraces an "eternal truth" of mental pulsation, which she otherwise phrases as "alternation of opposites." Perhaps the scientific mind may alternate as to the truth of this doctrine.

We continue culling specimens of the volume's contents. The authoress protests that the spirit of inquisitive destructiveness brings more poison than pabulum to the scientific character, and, being naturally excessive in the child, ought to be restrained rather than stimulated. She thinks that "a good deal might be done by teaching children, when they see a flower, not to touch it till they have learned all they can of its poise and mode of growth, so as to be able, after dissecting it, to reconstruct in their minds an accurate picture of how it looked before they disturbed it." One of the points that must receive sedulous care from the earliest lessons of the child is that the line of demarcation shall be clearly preserved between what he has experienced and what he has learned at second hand. To this end, children must be drilled in the power of reproducing exactly what it is that ~~any~~ or another person has said; and from this point of view no study is more wholesome than that of Latin. "Give no more time to science than you can afford to let the children spend in the really scientific manner."

Chapter II. is about the unconscious mind, and particularly about those intervals when the current of thought almost or altogether comes to a standstill, so that the ideas that float in it have time to settle and to compact themselves. "We are sterile for lack of repose far more than from lack of work." "It is curious and painful to observe how many things have been proposed by true educationalists simply for the purpose of ministering to the action of the unconscious mind, and afterwards perverted, by persons possessed with the teaching mania, to the purpose of stuffing into children's minds some idea which is in the teacher's mind." Let children alone to their own thoughts or absence of thoughts during a good part of their time. Let them bother a carpenter, and pick up what skill

they can; and on no account pay the man for the loss of time they occasion, for then he will feel obliged to show them how to work.

Chapter III., on hygienic sequence in development, has much to say of the same color. Chapter IV., on mathematical imagination, deals with a subject of the utmost importance in education. The last chapter, on ethical and logical preparation, is perhaps the very best and most practical in the book; but we believe our readers now have some idea of what to anticipate from the reading of this and of the whole book.

Farmington. By Clarence S. Darrow. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. 1904.

Farmington is the Pennsylvania village in which Mr. Darrow's childhood was spent. His publishers call this autobiography of a boy an "idyl," and it is certainly a "little picture," with human beings in a rural setting. There ends its idyllic quality. An idyl is not complex nor psychological, and Mr. Darrow's recollections are curiously and sadly analytic. On its lighter side the picture is charming enough. The boy's life centred round his father's old mill and all its associations:

"The sleepy pool above the dam,
The pool beneath it never still,
The meal-sacks on the whitened floor,
The dark round of the dripping wheel,
The very air about the door
Made misty through the floating meal."

His father, though, like Tennyson's miller, he must have had a "slow, wise smile," was, in the essential interest of his life, a thwarted man. Books were his passion, the mill was his necessity, not his choice; and, once the day's work done, he would retreat to his little study and read far into the night Latin, Greek and Hebrew. He would even carry his books with him to the dusty mill and snatch a moment's forgetfulness of his uncongenial toil. "To his dying day he lived in a walking trance; and his books and their wondrous stories were more real to him than the turning water-wheel, the sacks of wheat and corn, and the cunning, soulless farmers who dickered and haggled about his hard-earned toll."

The boy went to the district school outside his town. Of that school, of the teachers, who were changed every season and were always unpopular; of the school readers, which we hope have long since been superseded, if we are to judge them from Mr. Darrow's quotations; of all the relations of boys and girls that grew out of the school life, Mr. Darrow gives an unsparing and unsoftened picture. It is not that he had a peculiarly unhappy childhood; all the accessories were there, all that a country-bred boy can extract from life in such a community was his. But it is obvious that what strikes him with most force, as he reviews those years before his teens, is the lack of knowledge of the childish mind, the lack of sympathy with childish pains and pleasures that most children have to endure from their elders. The path of the child is not smooth. Like the dog in Maeterlinck's essay, he is surrounded by problems and riddles which those who know have not the time or the kindness to explain. Life for both is full of humiliations and hostile forces, sha-

dowed by incomprehensible suppressions of instinct, a continual disillusion. All about him are bent on his doing what he dislikes:

"It seemed to us as if our elders were in a universal conspiracy against us children; and we in turn combined to defeat their plans. I wonder where my little playmates have strayed on the great round world, and if they have grown as unreasonable as our fathers and mothers used to be. Reasonable or unreasonable, it is certain that our parents never knew what was best for us to do.... The very fact that we wanted to do things seemed ample reason why we should not. I venture to say that at least nine-tenths of our requests were denied; and when consent was granted, it was given in the most grudging way. The one great word that always stood straight across our path was 'No,' and I am sure that the first instinct of our elders, on hearing of our desires, was to refuse."

Mr. Darrow's chapter on "Rules of Conduct" should be read by all parents. The book is not one that lends itself to quotation. It should be read in the leisurely mood in which it was composed. Its simplicity, its monosyllabic, wholly unornamented style, almost amount to preciousness; but it is written with a sincerity impossible to question.

Arbitration and the Hague Court. By John W. Foster. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1904.

This book deserves all the attention that its author can ask. Mr. Foster writes with great knowledge and facility, and has made what he has to say about a subject inherently dry much more attractive than it might have been expected to prove. His publication, important in more than one respect, is, so far as we know, the first to give, in a small compass and an interesting way, the present status of arbitration and its practice under the Hague convention. This has already become of more consequence to the world at large than is generally understood—more, too, than was anticipated by many of the strongest friends of arbitration at the time of the assembling of the conference of 1899. When the Hague Court was established it was an experiment, such as had never been tried before. Treaties which should bind nations to arbitrate some, or all, of their differences, were one thing; it was demonstrable that such treaties were, wherever ratified, additional guarantees of peace; but not only would the establishment of an international court effect nothing unless the tribunal were resorted to—the mere fact of non-resort to it would throw a cloud over the cause of arbitration, and tend to the desuetude of arbitration itself. This doubt has been partly dissipated by the resort to the court in the "Plous Fund" and the Venezuela cases; while, apart from the tribunal itself, the machinery of inquiry provided for in Title III. of the Hague convention seems to have been adopted by Russia and England to arrive at a basis of settlement of the very dangerous questions growing out of the Dogger Bank disaster.

These are good instances of the weight which the mere existence of permanent international judicial machinery has in disposing quarrelling nations to peaceful ways of settling their disputes; but, outside of this, we have now in actual operation several treaties of general arbitration, e. g., that between Spain and Mexico of 1902, the Netherlands-Denmark treaty of 1904, and the Anglo-French treaty of 1902, which

may be said to have been called into existence by the Hague convention. These in substance provide, following the declaration of article XVI., either for the arbitration of all questions whatever (especially those of a "judicial order" and relating to the interpretation of treaties) which cannot be settled diplomatically, or for the arbitration of all such questions, provided they do not involve the honor, independence or vital interests of either nation. Further treaties of the same sort have been negotiated by Mr. Hay between the United States and European countries, which are awaiting the action of our Senate. To support the ratification of these the aid of the press and public is much needed. The enemies of arbitration, it may be expected, will do all in their power to defeat them, notwithstanding the insertion of the clauses excepting questions involving honor, independence, and vital interests, for they now perceive—what was not clear at first—that this exception is not likely in the long run to prove a serious obstacle to the settlement of any question by arbitration which is in itself capable of such settlement.

That there will always be questions which neither diplomacy nor arbitration will prove competent to settle, may be assumed; and it may also be assumed that such questions will come to appear, to one side or both, to involve honor, or vital interests, or independence, and will be settled by war. But such questions will probably be settled by war whether the right to go to war over them is reserved in a treaty or not. The reason, of course, is that in such cases one party or the other will not endure the arbitrament of a third Power, it may be because independence is really involved (and this cause is by common consent a justification), or it may equally be from a base determination to force a war upon an unwilling foe. It is impossible to imagine the Franco-German dispute of 1870 settled without war; our civil war had to be fought out to the end; no one has yet been able to reach a belief that the "good offices" of any third Power would have been tolerated by Russia or Japan. In all those cases no paper agreement could have affected the result, and, to our minds at least, it would not have made the smallest difference whether or not there had been a paper agreement, conventional or even constitutional, providing on the one hand that there should be no war at all, or on the other that war should be resorted to only if honor, independence or vital interests were affected. "Honor" and "vital interests," moreover, are very elastic phrases, and may mean much or little according to circumstances. It should never be forgotten that Lord Russell refused to entertain the idea of the arbitration of the Alabama claims on the precise grounds that honor and vital interests were affected; yet the Alabama claims were successfully arbitrated exactly as all our other differences with England have been since the war of 1812.

The great point is, that, a general treaty of arbitration once signed, when a new difference arises which cannot be settled diplomatically, the treaty, whether it contains this clause or not, interposes a serious obstacle which must be surmounted before war can begin. If the treaty contains no exception, the treaty at least must be fa-

